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Disarmament: the next round of talks

General-Anzeiger

The conference on conventional disarmament in Europe could well, if the Nato summit in Brussels is any guide, begin before the year is out.

But a long and thorny road must first be taken, starting with the talks mandated to the Group of 23, or member-states of the two pacts.

These talks, which must first be brought to a conclusion, have made substantial headway on their terms of reference but form part of the much wider range of topics covered by the Vienna CSCE conference, which faces much more serious difficulties.

Not until a consensus has been arrived at by all 35 CSCE member-states and a final document has been agreed will the way be free for negotiations on conventional stability.

The Group of 23's mandate includes a joint definition of the contents and method of the two proposed conferences: on conventional stability and further confidence-building measures.

This definition has been tabled for weeks and the Nato declaration on conventional disarmament has clarified further problems.

It ensures once and for all, for instance, linkage between the two conferences and the Helsinki process, assigning the conventional stability talks to the CSCE umbrella even though their subject matter mainly concerns the two pacts.

The neutral and non-aligned CSCE member-states are thus assured of a certain right of consultation and of a say in what goes on.

A solution remains to be reached on how dual — conventional *and* nuclear — weapons (other than artillery) are to be handled.

But, always assuming Moscow accepts the justified reference to the connection between security and the "human dimension," the mandated talks could be brought to a swift conclusion.

The outcome would then be included in the final document of the CSCE conference as part of its remarks on Basket One of the 1975 Helsinki Final Act, which deals with principles of cooperation and security issues.

The final document will also deal with economic, technological and environmental cooperation (Basket Two) and cultural and humanitarian issues (Basket Three).

In Basket Two a number of useful results seem feasible, but the West is still not agreed on Bonn's proposal for a CSCE economic affairs conference.

In Basket Three there has been rapprochement on the arts. All three groups — the West, the East and the neutral and non-aligned states — have even tabled a joint proposal for a symposium to be held in Cracow, Poland, on Europe's common cultural heritage.

In the debate on the "human dimension," however, there has been no sign yet how to bridge the gap between the extreme positions held by some Western CSCE countries, especially Britain and America, and what the East at present feels can be expected of it.

France too has so far shown scant inclination to accept the invitation to attend a human rights conference in Moscow Bonn and others would be happy to attend provided reasonable framework conditions were ensured.

A serious clash has also occurred between Hungary and Rumania over national minorities. So there can be no question of agreement being reached by Easter.

Yet the conference will need to end by this summer at the latest if it is not to be caught in the maelstrom of the US Presidential election campaign.

Even then it could be too late to launch the disarmament conferences by the end of this year as planned. So it is high time for the neutral and non-aligned countries to resume their traditional role and smooth the path to success by submitting moderate compromise proposals.

The Nato summit again failed to harmonise the two essentials of pact strategy. Its general communiqué demonstrates more than clearly that military and foreign policymakers continue to work on twin tracks, with defence as one matter and understanding another.

Even so, there are now convincing features of a negotiable Western concept on conventional disarmament following the unexpectedly far-reaching offer made by the East last year.

The Nato declaration on this issue outlines in fairly exact detail the main problems: the undeniable conventional superiority of the Warsaw Pact, its ability to launch a surprise attack and a territorial offensive, its geographical advantages (a single land-mass and shorter supply routes) and its exaggerated military secrecy.

It clarifies the condition that must, from the Western viewpoint, be met if security is to be guaranteed at all stages of disarmament: ongoing deterrence by means of an appropriate mixture of modern conventional and nuclear weapons at all levels of armament.

It also outlines negotiating targets and ways in which they can be reached.

The first stage mentioned is the scrapping of mobile weapons with substantial fire-power and of front-line forces particularly suitable for launching a surprise attack.

Further proposals have been heralded that will be aimed at greater openness and "strict, effective and reliable surveillance and verification provisions."

The threat analyses made by Nato military pundits, based on forces comparisons that are open to doubt, are reflected in the terminology of this declaration, which at times appears presumptuous and makes no mention of Western superiority.

Yet in content it comes fairly close to the Eastern proposals despite a number of vague formulas included to put a damper on undesirable enthusiasm for detente.

What is more, it steers a wide berth of the military hair-splitting that has prevented the now superfluous Vienna MBFR troop out talks from getting anywhere in 14 years of unsuccessful negotiations.

So disarmament experts have succeeded in setting aside their long years of frustrating experience and submitting a more promising approach to negotiations that has been included in the Brussels Nato document.

This too could lend fresh momentum to the flagging CSCE conference.

Wolf J. Bell
(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 7 March 1988)



Hail to the chef!

Chancellor Kohl and President Mitterrand thanking staff of the restaurant in Durbach, Baden, where they met for a working dinner (Photo: dpa)

IN THIS ISSUE

Weizsäcker pillories apartheid on tour of Africa

In Zimbabwe, almost within hailing distance of President Botha of South Africa, the German head of state has again condemned apartheid and the serious breach of the human rights of South Africa's black majority.

Federal President Richard von Weizsäcker pilloried in Mali and Nigeria the racial segregation rigidly retained by the white minority regime in Pretoria.

In Zimbabwe his urgent appeal included an extra feature. He called on South Africa to end the injustice of apartheid from an African country that has set an example of racial harmony.

In the former British colony of Rhodesia, which gained independence eight years ago after long years of grim bush warfare by the black majority against a ruling white minority, blacks and whites today live, work and rule in mutual harmony and respect.

The path to Zimbabwean "unity" has been long, stony and paved with bloodshed, but less by virtue of racial clashes between blacks and whites than because of the struggle for power between rival black tribes.

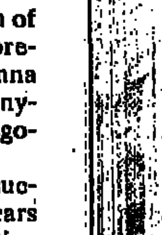
They are the majority Shona tribe, led by President Mugabe, and the minority Ndebele, led by the regal Joshua Nkomo.

It is clear on South Africa's doorstep that a state run along lines other than those governed by racial segregation will fare better in the long term than a system based on cynical white minority rule, South Africa refuses to follow in its footsteps.

Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl recently visited Mozambique, while Foreign Minister Genscher visited Angola and Bavarian Premier Franz Josef Strauss paid South Africa itself a controversial visit.

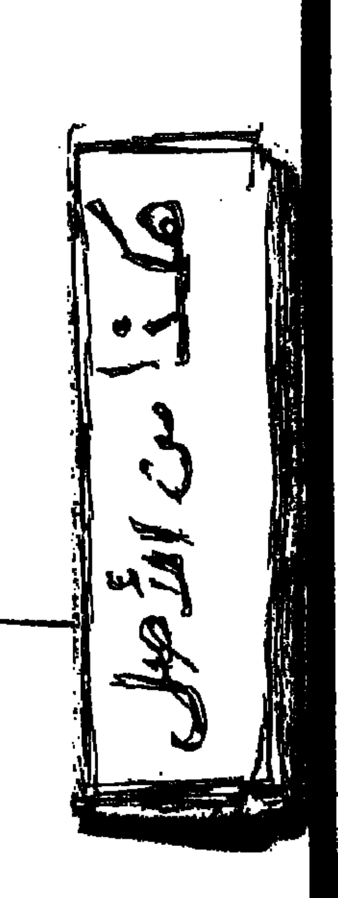
Federal President von Weizsäcker has clearly and unmistakably indicated in Zimbabwe that Bonn is agreed in condemning apartheid.

Hans Stollhans
(Lübecker Nachrichten, 11 March 1988)









■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Latin American democracies find the going tough

Is the wind of change blowing yet again in South America? "First World" democrats are still reassured by Third World democrats every time they visit America's southern hemisphere that the days of dictatorship are over once and for all.

True, General Pinochet was still in power in Chile and General Stroessner in Paraguay, but both were fossils whose days were numbered.

Besides, Western Europe had to bide its time for decades while Salazar retained power in Portugal and Franco in Spain.

Yet America south of the Panama Canal is said definitely to have made its breakthrough to a political system more in keeping with the times and, at the same time, to economic progress.

On-the-spot investigations lead to different conclusions. The civilian governments that have replaced the juntas are increasingly forfeiting their reputation and goodwill, in no way having done justice to the great expectations placed in them.

Disappointment, not to say resignation, came hot on the heels of euphoria, especially in Brazil, where in recent local government elections 40 per cent of voters either didn't bother — despite compulsory voting — or voted "Mosquito," having come to feel that politicians were a plague.

In Argentina too there can no longer be any mention of enthusiasm about the democratic renewal. There is a widespread sense of helplessness in Buenos Aires, where President Alfonsin has failed to provide even reasonably effective civilian government after the renewed failure of military regimes.

The next elections seem likely to bring the Peronists back to power, and they were largely to blame for the decline of Argentina, once a rich country.

The last Peronist government, led by "Isabelita" Peron, was such a disaster that the armed forces were virtually called on to rescue the country from chaos.

Alan Garcia's halo has also vanished. The young Peruvian President, who came to power on a wave of popularity, is on the brink of bankruptcy.

His basis of support is growing steadily narrower. The left-wing extremist Sendero Luminoso guerrillas are on the terrorist rampage, left-wing trade unions are paralysing the economy with strikes and the general public are disenchanted with the President.

In Colombia a feeble democracy has galloping consumption, with the state on the point of serving notice to quit as a power in the land. Between them the narcotics Mafia and the guerrillas seem intent on driving Colombia into anarchy.

Where Latin American democracies seem firmly, almost traditionally established, either a leading role is played by oil as a lubricant, as in Venezuela, or democracy is less democratic than would seem to be the case, as in Mexico, a one-party state.

In Latin America, as elsewhere, politics is bedevilled by economics. Freely elected heads of state forfeit popularity for falling to provide the millions of people who voted for them with what matters most: enough to eat, a roof over their head, cash to consult the doctor — and a job.

No-one who can recall the postwar period in Germany will feel it is anything but normal for millions of Latin American have-nots to see human rights as a matter of a handful of essentials.

Interest in "political" human rights, the ones that really matter from a European viewpoint, is shown mainly by the Latin American upper classes, who look largely to the wealthier North.

Those who, in contrast, barely manage to make ends meet expect better living, or arguably survival, conditions in return for their vote.

People in the poor quarters of Sao Paulo and Lima do not think in terms of Left or Right. Not for them an analytical or conceptual approach. They are willing to vote for anyone who helps them or promises to do so.

Virtually nowhere in Latin America do political parties with ideological hallmarks and fundamental programmes worth mentioning exist. People vote for the leader they feel may be able to sort out the mess and improve their lot.

The Brazilian and Peruvian presidents were national heroes for as long as they pursued short-term, demagogic economic policies that boosted purchasing power.

Their popularity vanished once economic crisis set in, and much the same fate befell President Alfonsin of Argentina when economic crisis came home to roost.

Conversely, the high degree of support enjoyed by President Pinochet of Chile, if recent polls are any guide, can only be explained in terms of his regime's economic successes.

Similarly, President Stroessner has only been able to hold on to power for so long because the people of Paraguay owe him a great deal — and be it "only" points such as mains electricity or paved roads.

Apart from the strongly European-orientated southern states, such as Argentina, which has mainly itself to blame for its failure, progress in Latin America is mainly threatened by population growth.

Brazil, for instance, is simply not in a position to provide enough homes, schools and hospitals for an extra three million people a year.

While less and less is available per head, more and more is demanded, with demand boosted by TV and the cinema.

More people are resorting to violence for their share of prosperity, seeing no other way out. Crime as an initial, "politically" unaware protest has assumed proportions that would have been inconceivable 10 or 20 years ago.

Latin American politicians have yet to realise what a threat population growth poses. Instead of stemming the tide of "demand" by means of family *planning they are intent on establishing* a short-term reputation by reallocating the little there is to share out.

They are blocking tomorrow's growth by yielding to pressure from below and neglecting non-consumption as the prerequisite for savings and investment.

They no longer talk about sacrifices needed to ensure a better life for their grandchildren; they merely appeal to envy and nationalism. And the public eventually believe them when they claim that the rich at home and the multinationals abroad are to blame for everything.

Latin American politicians are still not talking in terms of an economic crisis. They refer to a political crisis they aim to handle by means of established political nostrums.

This may be because few if any of them have economic training, but no matter where they look abroad their approach would appear to be justified.

In North America and Western Europe — wherever democratic governments hold power — prosperity reigns. The inference they draw is that democratisation will bring affluence to Latin America too.

In totalitarian East Bloc states where comprehensive state controls smother private initiative this approach may well make sense. Latin American countries run, at best, by authoritarian regimes lack the framework conditions essential for self-supporting economic recovery.

Yet Latin American leaders take a dim view of such sober and depressing analysis. They prefer to nurse their self-esteem by seeing themselves in terms of the "First World."

They thereby run a growing risk of losing sight of their countries' true interests and of going through the motions of ambitious democracy solely for the sake of an elitist minority.

The price to be paid for a policy of unfulfilled, and probably unfulfillable, promises is an alarming loss of prestige.

Not for nothing do today's Latins look back regretfully to politicians and days of old when, in the mind's eye, everything was better.

Those who are more conservative in outlook continue to count on the armed forces who, they feel, will intervene again if need be. They fail to appreciate that this solution is steadily less feasible.

The generals have returned to barracks because the authoritarian counter-pressure was no longer sufficient to enable them to hold their own.

They can hardly be interested in heading even more raving future regimes, and the moment they came to power they would promptly be blamed as the root of all evil by virtue of being evil, right-wing dictators.

In the wake of what has happened in Argentina they know only too well how dangerous it can be to hand power back to a civilian government.

Besides, they would come in for nothing but criticism from the rest of the world — from Western democrats and Eastern dictators alike.

Martin Gester

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 1 March 1988)

Bonn visitors pledge support to black Africa

Federal President Richard von Weizsäcker's political safari comes in the wake of African tours by Foreign Minister Genscher, Chancellor Kohl and CSU leader Franz Josef Strauss.

Four high-ranking German visitors in four months, culminating in a series of state visits, surely testify to keen interest.

Has the Federal Republic of Germany suddenly "discovered" Africa? It would almost seem to have done so.

Yet in reality what may appear to have been planned in minute detail as a full-scale offensive (with Herr Strauss as a self-willed raiding party leader) came about largely by coincidence.

Helmut Kohl, who flew to Africa in November, a fortnight after Hans-Dietrich Genscher, had intended to visit the continent much sooner.

Ports of call were, of course, coordinated. Bonn leaders were resolved to pay countries south of the Sahara, countries they hadn't visited for years, the personal attention they deserve.

They were able to point out, as visitors from Bonn readily can, that German policy toward Africa has much to its credit.

Bilateral aid by the Federal Republic to neighbouring Africa totals about DM2.7bn a year, while Bonn accounts for over 25 per cent of the substantial European Community aid from which Africa benefits by the terms of the Lomé Convention.

The Federal government has also waived DM2.8bn of old development aid loans to the 20 poorest African countries.

This attitude has contributed toward the high esteem in which Bonn is held in this part of the world. It is why African leaders again place great expectations in the Federal Republic of Germany.

They face acute economic hardship as a result of lower commodity prices, famine and drought and constantly growing debts (even in relatively prosperous African countries).

Frank and public mention must be made of serious past mistakes, especially the fundamental error of pressing ahead with industrialisation, and particularly with large-scale prestige projects, when agriculture might better have been promoted.

At the same time an inhibitive bureaucracy emerged all over Africa without the least attempt to train capable management personnel.

Few countries avoided these mistakes. They include Cameroun and Kenya, both of which have developed agriculture substantially, as Chancellor Kohl saw for himself.

Others, such as Senegal (visited by Foreign Minister Genscher) and Mali (President von Weizsäcker's first port of call), are keen to carry out reforms.

Structural adjustment to ensure that countries are self-supporting will be essential throughout Africa if the continent is to emerge from its present hardship.

Herr Kohl and Herr Genscher made it clear on their visits that the Federal Republic is ready to lend a helping hand. So did Herr von Weizsäcker.

But cash and kind are not enough. Personal discussions are almost equally important, psychologically speaking, and not just on local problems but on the entire range of world affairs.

African politicians are keen to be taken seriously, and the succession of visits was planned with this need in mind.

Logically, the crisis in southern Africa plays a special role. From Bonn's point of view there are two relevant aspects.

One is German readiness to support the so-called front-line states. Herr Kohl and Herr Strauss made this point in Mozambique. Herr Genscher did so

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■ FOREIGN SERVICE

Pennypinching restrictions irk diplomats

The Foreign Office is keen to see foreign service legislation, as demanded by the Bundestag's foreign affairs committee and heralded by the Federal Chancellor, enacted during the lifetime of the present Bundestag.

High-ranking diplomats feel it is out of the question for routine administrative decisions in the foreign service to continue to be governed by regulations and yardsticks drawn up for domestic use.

The fragmentation of responsibilities and jealous squabbles in other departments over matters relating to the foreign service are seen by the diplomats affected as a millstone round their necks.

The Foreign Office has no intention of breaking the bounds of uniform civil service regulations, yet Interior Ministry officials are strongly opposed to the "single legal basis" for the foreign service as accepted by all political parties.

Diplomats say they can well imagine that Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann, CSU, is not prepared to forfeit further powers and that this is the reason for what can only be termed delaying tactics within the Federal government.

The Foreign Office thus recalls Chancellor Kohl's statement to the Bundestag foreign affairs committee at the end of February.

In view of the agreement reached between all political parties in the Bundestag, he said, he saw no difficulties to prevent legislation from being enacted during the lifetime of the present Bundestag.

This "clear ruling," the Foreign Office says, is the basis for further talks with the Interior Ministry — talks that have so far been slow going.

"We attach great importance to the Chancellor's responsibility for laying down policy guidelines," a high-ranking diplomat comments.

The Foreign Office notes that countries such as Britain and France, America and Japan have long run their foreign services on a specific legal basis.

The legislation the Foreign Office is keen to see enacted will, it is argued, help to ensure the smooth running of the foreign service.

The service is said to have grown less attractive of late, and unsurprisingly so. Care must taken to ensure that it continues to be in a position to recruit staff suitable in respect of qualifications, language skills and personal character, all of which are essential if the service is to do its duty.

Foreign Office staff are most annoyed. They feel it is simply not right for civil servants whose sole experience of life abroad is their summer holidays to decide on the terms and conditions of foreign service employment.

For months the Foreign Office had to struggle to have Albania classified as a country where living conditions can be Spartan. Albania, it was told, was a country where everyone ate cream of pheasant soup and anyone was entitled to a free car on request.

This absurd dispute with the Interior Ministry, the rule rather than the exception, was based on a radio statement by an official of the German-Albanian Friendship Society.

Similar disputes arise in connection with, say, the disposal of a staff car, the official decision on which is based on criteria that might be appropriate in Bonn and environs but are nowhere near appropriate to conditions in tropical or desert climates.

Staff cars, Interior Ministry officials insist, must log at least 200,000km — even on desert tracks — before being sold.

A further untenable state of affairs, high-ranking Foreign Office staff say, is the fact that diplomats' wives (always assuming it is the husbands who are the diplomats) are expected to help represent their country yet are not insured against accidents that might occur while they are doing so.

The Interior Ministry is said to force the wives of diplomats serving for any length of time abroad to decide for either marriage or their career.

Only in exceptional cases are wives previously in government service allowed to retain their career entitlement. After the leave to which they would be entitled as members of the home civil service they must either resign or return to their work.

This alone, it is argued, is an intolerable state of affairs.

As demands on the foreign service have increased there has, in recent years, been a steady increase in deep-seated tension between the home-orientated civil servants and conditions of service abroad.

Fundamental differences of opinion between the Foreign Office and other, domestic government departments on the state's obligations to its staff and their families need clarifying once and force.

Diplomats also feel it simply cannot be right for foreign service staff to have their allowances cut in certain countries yet continue to pay tax on the full allowance.

The Foreign Office draft states that the foreign service needs a single legal basis for all organisational and service arrangements and provisions that may affect it.

There can be no question — and there is no intention — of making provision for every conceivable contingency. The aim is to lay down legal principles on which day-to-day administration and periodic adjustments necessitated by changing conditions can be based.

There is, for that matter, no intention of departing from the general provisions of the German civil service. High-ranking diplomats stress that there are no plans to upset this particular applecart.

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Special provisions already apply to judges and to the armed forces. Similar, specific provisions must apply to the foreign service too.

The guidelines for the legislative draft note that deep-seated disputes between government departments on the welfare provisions that must be made for members of the civil service and their families must no longer be waged at the expense of those concerned.

Members of the foreign service have to rely on their wives (or husbands) to help them carry out their duties. The state must ensure that they sustain no lasting damage and that unavoidable hardship is suitably recompensed.

The Bundestag is said to have made it clear that it expects unsatisfactory trends to be rectified and fair solutions to be reached in respect of material provision for work done by the husband or wife.

The Foreign Office says it needs a manpower reserve to perform satisfactorily its wide and growing range of duties.

New recruits to the foreign service must simply not be required to accept serious financial disadvantages in comparison with other branches of the civil service.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 5 March 1988)

Travel-hungry politicians put in too much foreign mileage

Free Democrat Helmut Schäfer, Minister of State at the Bonn Foreign Office, willingly produces a list of high-ranking provincial politicians and the impressive places they visit throughout the world.

When he talks about the subject Herr Schäfer, a usually reserved and cheerful person, sometimes gets really annoyed.

The list more than confirms the increasing wanderlust of German provincial politicians, a trend which is not always welcomed by the Foreign Office.

Last year there was a record number of 388 visits abroad by *Land* premiers, ministers, senior civil servants and parliamentarians from all political parties.

The figure is 150 per cent higher than six years previously, and the trend is rising.

Western and Eastern European countries as well as the USA are the most popular destinations, but the Far East is catching up fast.

According to Herr Schäfer's list ten visits to China by leading *Land* representatives are scheduled for March alone.

Schäfer has worked out that some *Land* premiers travel abroad more often than Federal Foreign Minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

This is no mean feat in view of Herr Genscher's own jetsetting reputation in this respect.

According to Herr Schäfer, things are "getting out of hand."

As a rule economic interests are on the agenda when *Land* leaders seek international negotiating partners.

The *Länder* are keen on developing more and more direct contacts with the political representatives of foreign markets in order to safeguard as big a slice as possible of the German export cake.

Admittedly, the Foreign Office list reveals some very odd visits.

The economics minister of "a small *Land*" — Schäfer remains discreet — justified his visit to Tibet by claiming that he wanted to foster economic relations with what, after all, is a fairly poor country high up in the Himalayas.

The transport committee of a large *Land* travelled to Hong Kong to study the transport situation there and its possible use back home.

Negotiations of one *Land* minister on mining and tourism in Morocco or the trip to Canada by a petitions committee also sound rather odd.

During these visits the discussion invariably touches on foreign policy issues.

Bonn's official foreign affairs policy-makers often feel that this causes confusion abroad regarding Bonn's policy line and makes diplomatic activities more difficult.

The recent visit to southern Africa by Bavarian Premier Franz Josef Strauss is a case in point.

During the part of his visit which was officially described as "private" the remarks he made were clearly contrary to Bonn's official policy towards Africa.

The impression that the Bonn government speaks with a forked tongue is not the only "serious consequence" (Schäfer) of such foreign policy activities.

The credibility of Bonn's policies also suffers, for example, if the Bonn government calls upon the USA to reduce its towering budget deficit and "a *Land* premier at the same time visits the American government with the request not to apply such austerity measures in the form of a reduction of US troops in his own *Land*."

In Herr Schäfer's opinion, this is an attempt to undermine the restrictive arms export policy pursued by the Bonn government.

Foreign policy, he says, with reference to the constitution, "is a matter for the Federal government."

The question being asked more and more frequently is whether the activities of the individual *Länder* in this field are "still compatible with Basic Law (the 1949 Bonn constitution)."

The Foreign Office, for example, was sceptical right from the start about the setting up of at last count 30 offices by the *Länder* in Brussels and in other capitals between Tokyo and New York.

In one case the Bonn Foreign Office asked the premier of a large *Land* (an obvious reference to North Rhine-Westphalia) to remove the office plaque from outside and "at least hang it up inside the entrance hall."

Bonn wanted to avoid giving the impression that the various *Länder* have their own "embassies" abroad.

Herr Schäfer has compiled a long list of the activities of the *Länder* abroad.

Many *Länder* have partnerships with foreign countries and provinces and some even pursue their own development policies.

Above all, however, the *Länder* are involved in the promotion of foreign trade "in the interests of their own respective *Land*, of course, which threatens to produce a dangerous crowding-out competition."

The urge of provincial politicians to travel is not only motivated by business considerations, economic lobbyism and a love of political tourism.

Rupert Scholz (CDU), Berlin's Senator for Federal Affairs, views the "federalisation of foreign policy" against the following background: the *Länder* feel that their political substance is being increasingly undermined by the growing legislative powers of the Federal government in Bonn.

The *Länder*, therefore, try to offset this loss by stepping up their own foreign policy activities, a field which also provides a good opportunity for provincial political leaders to improve their image.

Baden-Württemberg Premier Lothar Späth (CDU), for example, rarely gained so much nationwide publicity as he did following his meeting with Mikhail Gorbachov in Moscow.

The growing number of such visits, however, leads to more frequent disputes over areas of responsibilities.

Herr Schäfer concedes that the *Länder* occasionally have to move into foreign policy waters in their capacity as neighbours of other countries.

However, it is not necessary, he says, "for travel-hungry provincial politicians to turn up in Hawaii, Chile, Argentina or Spitzbergen" with in many cases dubious motives.

"This should also be reduced a little in the interests of the German taxpayer," he adds.

Senator Scholz admits that a new demarcation line should be drawn between the "obligation of *Land* leaders to exercise restraint" and the foreign policy "coordination competence of the Federal government".

So far, there has been no sign of moderation.

According to Herr Schäfer, some German embassies abroad are finding it difficult to cope with the numerous requests by German provincial politicians for

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■ PEOPLE

Kurt Georg Kiesinger dies aged 83



Kurt Georg Kiesinger
(Photo: Archiv)

Kurt Georg Kiesinger, who died aged 83 on 9 March, will go down in history as the Chancellor who headed the December 1966 Grand Coalition government of Christian and Social Democrats in Bonn.

He reconciled the two leading parties in the Federal Republic of Germany after 17 years of bitter hostility, but less than three years later, in October 1969, their ways parted.

The Social Democrats gained power in Bonn for the first time, while the CDU/CSU, defeated at the polls, retired for the first time to the Opposition benches in Bonn to lick their wounds.

It was no coincidence that Kurt Georg Kiesinger was chosen to head a Federal Cabinet in which the major parties joined forces despite their many differences.

He was not a born politician, never a narrow-minded party man and never interested in power for its own sake.

As a boy he dreamt of becoming a writer and poet. He went to a Roman Catholic teacher training college in Rottweil, Baden, then studied philosophy and literature at Tübingen University.

As a 20-year-old he published a collection of his poems entitled *Wallfahrt zu Gott*, or "Pilgrimage to God."

He then switched university and course, studying law in Berlin, where he graduated with an excellent degree and considered going in for university teaching.

He set up in legal practice instead. All that was left of his academic ambitions was work as a crammer, teaching law

KielerNachrichten

students the basics of the law and a legal approach and preparing them for university exams.

In 1933 he joined the Nazi Party (but was never an active member), having previously been a member of a Roman Catholic student corps.

During the war he worked for the Foreign Office, specialising in radio policy and propaganda and was exempted from military service.

After the war he was imprisoned by the Americans, then exonerated, but was never able to rid himself entirely of his past.

In 1948 he joined the Christian Democrats, was appointed CDU business manager in Württemberg-Hohenzollern and a year later, as a brilliant speaker and fascinating intellectual, was elected to the first Bundestag.

He soon emerged as one of the younger stars of the CDU, proving particularly effective at the rapier thrust and parry of debate in the parliamentary disputes over Chancellor Adenauer's policy of security and freedom as a member of the West.

He regularly outshone the Social Democrats, who were strongly opposed to Adenauer's policies, with his telling arguments and superb debating style — yet without ever deeply insulting his opponents in debate.

Adenauer rated him highly and was keen to see him elected general secretary at the first Federal CDU party conference, held in Goslar in 1950.

But Kiesinger was unpopular with the working-class wing of the CDU on account of his role in the Third Reich, was elected by a majority of one and preferred, in view of this narrow outcome, not to accept the post.

Adenauer, who was keenly conscious of power, never forgave him. Kiesinger went on to chair the foreign relations committee and, later, the mediation committee — which was very much in keeping with his accommodating nature. But he waited in vain for a Cabinet post under Konrad Adenauer.

In 1958 he left Bonn and returned to Baden-Württemberg as Prime Minister, ruling the south-west like an enlightened monarch and paying particular attention to educational reform.

Eight years later the CDU/CSU, especially Franz Josef Strauss and the CSU, persuaded him to return to Bonn at the helm of a CDU/CSU-SPD Grand Coalition after the failure of Ludwig Erhard, Adenauer's successor as Federal Chancellor.

He was welcomed by leading Social Democrat Herbert Wehner, partly because he had been one of the few Christian Democrats to deal fairly with Herr Wehner, who was long vilified as an ex-Communist.

The fact that the two men got on well together made a major contribution toward the headway the Grand Coalition made despite tension between the CDU/CSU and the SPD.

The economy recovered, emergency legislation was passed and Bonn's new Ostpolitik was launched.

But the extra-parliamentary Opposition, left-wing student protest, the growth of the right-wing NPD and Willy Brandt's preparations for a coalition with the Free Democrats put paid to the Grand Coalition in 1969.

Kiesinger, Wehner and Helmut Schmidt had every intention of continuing with the coalition, but the October 1969 general election resulted in an SPD-FDP coalition led by Willy Brandt and Walter Scheel.

Kiesinger was unaware of what was going on behind his back, but Brandt and Scheel had long come to terms.

He was incensed to find himself and the CDU/CSU out of office in Bonn and called on voters to turf the turncoat Liberals out of the state assemblies.

Yet he bore with philosophical equanimity the departure from office and the loss of power, which had never been his overriding interest.

He turned to the finer and more contemplative points in life and settled down to write his memoirs. He only found time to finish the first volume, which ends in 1958.

Jürgen Lorenz
(Kieler Nachrichten, 10 March 1988)

Jakob Kaiser birth centenary: a man ahead of his time?

Some politicians suffer from what might be styled the personal tragedy of being forgotten by history for having advocated the right idea at the wrong time.

Their ideas were convincing but the time was not ripe for them. They are eventually vindicated, but not in their own political lifetimes.

Christian Democrat Jakob Kaiser, born a century ago on 8 February 1888, was just such a figure in the early years of the Federal Republic of Germany.

A Christian trade unionist who was actively involved in resistance to the Nazis during the Third Reich, he will hardly have aimed at advocating policies diametrically opposed to the views espoused by Konrad Adenauer.

But given Kaiser's views on Germany's national and social future, he was inevitably bound to emerge as Adenauer's adversary in the CDU.

"The task facing our generation is to come to terms with Soviet Russia and to have it out with what Moscow has in mind.

"The task facing our generation is to arrive at an understanding with Russia without yielding to the concept of Marxism. Russia is the great reality we can and must take into account."

These words might have been taken from a Bonn government policy statement of Helmut Kohl's, but in November 1947, when Jakob Kaiser spoke them, they were most inopportune, particularly for Kaiser personally.

A few days after his appeal for understanding between Germany and Moscow the Soviet military authorities sacked him as CDU leader in the Soviet Zone. This first major disappointment was to be followed by many others. Was it, as political scientist Arnulf Baring says, because "this old-fashioned patriot" held his ground "heedless of common sense in defence of a lost cause"? Or was it, as historian Werner Conze put it, because he felt, "with the exacting yardstick of a disappointed idealist," that his failures were invariably due to the vicissitudes of his day and age and never of his own making? Jakob Kaiser came from Lower Franconia. He was a bookbinder by trade and a committed Christian trade unionist and member of the (Roman Catholic) Centre Party in the Weimar Republic.



Jakob Kaiser (left) with Adenauer in 1956
(Photo: AP)

After going underground to survive the Nazi reign of terror he entered post-war politics firmly convinced that Hitler's demise marked the end of the bourgeois era and the liberal, capitalist system.

He rejected Marxism and parties that embraced it, preferring an undogmatic approach to socialism.

The long succession of his misunderstandings included his view of the CDU/CSU as a left-wing popular party along lines similar to Britain's postwar Labour Party.

Adenauer, a conservative, realised that votes were only to be gained for the CDU on the Right and in the political Centre — the votes of people who were now politically homeless, as it were.

Kaiser envisaged Germany's national task as that of serving as a bridge between East and West. It is an idea that Federal President Richard von Weizsäcker today outlines in many of his speeches.

In his day Kaiser was diametrically opposed to the consistent policy of integration with the West advocated by Adenauer in the CDU and later approved by the Bonn Cabinet.

Kaiser was deputy leader of the CDU, spokesman for the *Sozialausschüsse*, or working-class wing of the party, and Minister of All-German Affairs from 1949 to 1957.

Yet he was soon relegated to a marginal role. With his constant calls for German reunification ("Prussia is essential. Don't forget the Soviet Zone!") he ended up as no more than a "warning voice appealing to the national conscience."

During the Cold War the outlook for a reunited and reconstructed Germany was anything but good. Yet Kaiser consistently advocated it.

Unlike Adenauer, whose outlook was the more realistic, he underrated the importance for the Federal Republic of the confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States.

It would nonetheless be wrong to regard today's Ostpolitik as in any way a Kaiser brainchild. It is based on the Federal Republic maintaining firm ties with the West, a policy he long opposed.

Where Kaiser was right, viewed with hindsight, was in his assessment of Germany's geographical location and all it entailed.

Since the early 1970s successive Bonn governments have based their policy toward the GDR on a feeling that people in the two German states belong together.

This was a view Jakob Kaiser emphatically shared, so in this respect history cannot be said to have passed him by.

Heinz Verfürth
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 8 February 1988)

■ SOVIET UNION

Hopes of rehabilitation for ethnic Germans



Vladimir Chernichev, editor-in-chief of the weekly magazine *Neues Leben*, a "central newspaper of the Soviet German population" published by *Pravda* in Moscow, says ethnic Germans in the USSR should be granted autonomy.

This is a truly sensational move on behalf of a group which fell into disfavour following the German invasion of Russia in 1941 and which has since only partially been rehabilitated.

Chernichev's article on the situation of the German population in the USSR ("Some Reflections on the History of the Soviet Germans" in: *Neues Leben*, No. 6, 3 February 1988) has caused a stir.

With astonishing openness he takes a look at the ordeal of the Soviet Germans, who were deported from their settlement areas near the Black Sea and the Volga to Siberia and Central Asia in 1941 and deprived of their rights.

Although the indiscriminate accusations of collaboration with the enemy made against ethnic Germans in Russia were officially dismissed by a decree of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in August 1984 the Germans are still waiting to be recognised as citizens of the Soviet Union with equal rights.

Today there are fifteen Union and twenty autonomous republics, eight autonomous regions and ten autonomous districts in the Soviet Union.

Only two peoples are still denied any form of self-government: the Crimean Tartars and the Germans.

Both groups are also not allowed to return to their former settlement areas in the European part of the USSR.

Although this was a known fact for some time it was never a subject which could be talked or written about in public.

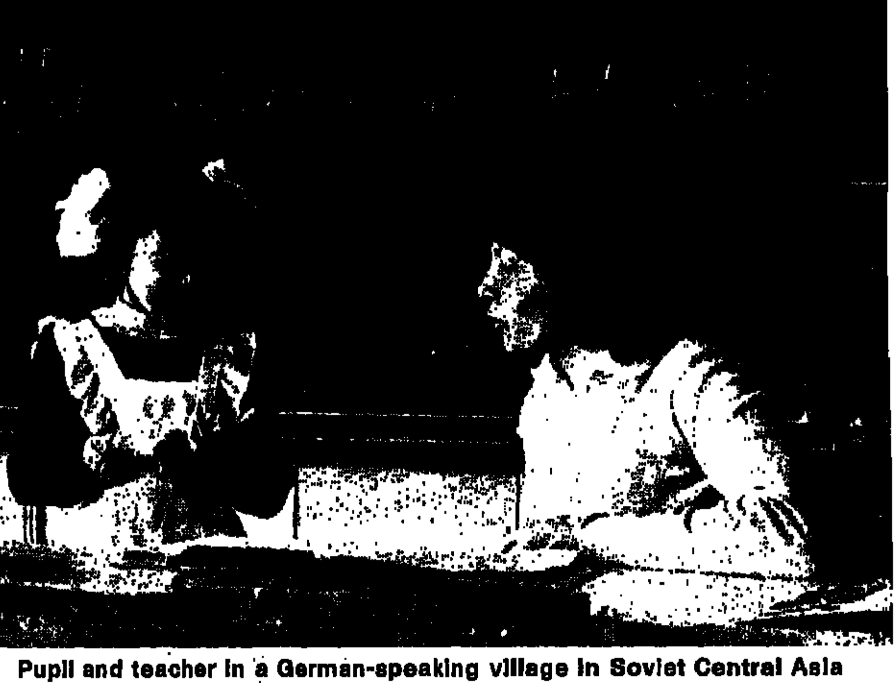
Vladimir Chernichev recalls that during his studies "the Russian and Soviet Germans were not mentioned at all as a people of our state in lectures and seminars."

He doesn't forget to add that important archive material on the history of the Germans in Russia is still inaccessible today and that not a single school in Soviet Russia teaches in the German language.

Chernichev not only feels that the German population — roughly two million people — should have the right to foster its native language, but that an autonomous region should be set up:

"A tight-knit homeland, in which it is possible to think and speak in one's mother tongue and where national institutions can exist."

Chernichev feels that much more should be done to establish a bond between the Germans and a country many would prefer to leave at the earliest possible opportunity.



Pupil and teacher in a German-speaking village in Soviet Central Asia
(Photo: TASS/Jürgens)

Giving the Germans back the *Heimatgefühl* they lost following their deportation would be a move in this direction.

Last year, 14,488 ethnic Germans were allowed to leave the country and travel to the Federal Republic of Germany, an astonishingly high figure in view of the low number of exit permits granted in previous years.

Apart from the less restrictive approach by the authorities in this field serious efforts are also being made to improve the situation of the German population, in line with Mikhail Gorbachov's new policy of *glasnost* and *perestroika*.

Autonomy would be the best possible solution, since this would have a positive and direct impact on all areas of life.

Above all, it would give a fillip to the cultivation of the German language and to the development of a proper German culture.

Both factors are essential for independence and for the creation of a sense of "German origin."

The idea of autonomy will probably be welcomed by most ethnic Germans in Russia. Older Germans still recall the autonomous republic of the Volga Germans set up in 1924 and have always hoped to regain some form of self-government.

Most ethnic Germans would like to return to the Volga, but thought is also being given to establishing an autonomous region in Kazakhstan, where almost one million Germans live.

Vladimir Chernichev's article, which could not have been published without the official blessing of the Communist Party, emphasises that autonomy is definitely on the agenda.

It is still not clear, however, how the new form of self-administration will be organised.

Another German Volga republic seems highly improbable; national districts within the existing Asian Soviet republics seem more likely.

Far-reaching administrative restructuring, therefore, is not to be expected.

The solutions found for the situation of the ethnic Germans in Hungary and Romania may serve as models, although the comparability with the situation in the Soviet Union is very limited.

In Hungary a bilingual German minority is envisaged, with hopes that its members will view themselves as Hungarians of German origin rather than with a German mother tongue.

Self-administration by the German minority was never achieved in Romania. The broadly-based and state-supported culture of the Germans in Romania is the only aspect worth emulating, although this has been increasingly restricted and scaled down.

The fact that the Romanian policy towards its minorities may lead to the total emigration of the German population and to an extremely strained relationship to the Hungarian minority cannot be overlooked.

The Soviet Union, however, does not want to accelerate the departure of its Germans; on the contrary, it wants to strengthen the sense of belonging to the Soviet Union.

This is no easy task. The bitter experience of past decades and the appeal of Western democracy and freedom, which seem so unattainable for many ethnic Germans in Russia, exert a strong influence.

Whether autonomy — if granted — achieves its objective will depend on the substance and actual success of Mr Gorbachov's reforms.

Younger ethnic Germans in particular hope that a possible autonomy would boost self-awareness.

The German minority would then not only be on the Soviet Union's administrative map, but also a part of public awareness — without the stigma of collaboration with the enemy.

Research could be carried out into its history and German-language literature written, albeit within the constraints of a socialist system.

Many of the young ethnic German authors who left Romania to live in the Federal Republic of Germany soon gained a literary reputation. This indicates the corresponding potential in the Soviet Union.

The ethnic German authors in Russia who have so far been allowed to publish their works have been by no means timid in their choice of subject matter.

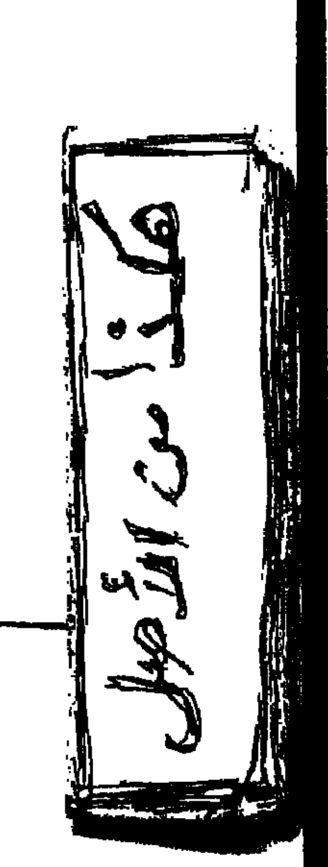
The positive hero of socialist realism has also disappeared from the German literature written in the Soviet Union.

The German drama theatre in Temirtau (Kazakhstan), which has been looking for a topical play for many years, would definitely like to broach the subject of the fate of the Russian Germans.

It has now become possible to talk openly about the truth of the past. Whether this is conducive to a new homeland feeling or whether this will only revive painful memories of the former Volga homeland remains to be seen.

The limits to the new flexibility may be tighter than they seem at first glance.

Franz Heinz
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 4 March 1988)



■ EMPLOYMENT

SPD's Lafontaine backs shorter hours on less pay to create new jobs

Whoever would have thought that Franz Josef Strauss, the Bavarian CSU leader, and Oskar Lafontaine, the SPD left-winger, might one day see eye to eye?

Who would have imagined Heinz Oskar Vetter, the former general secretary of the trades union confederation, setting aside seemingly self-evident truths of trade union policy or, for that matter, hard-nosed employers' spokesmen setting aside their taboos?

Can shorter working hours or their equivalent create new jobs or not? This thorny question has suddenly been resurrected.

What is more, it is not just a rehash of old and cherished beliefs; all concerned seem willing this time to hold complex talks rather than exchange simple slogans.

Social Democrat Lafontaine started the ball rolling by showing willing to dispense with what the SPD and the trade unions have hitherto seen as a sine qua non of shorter working hours: no wage cuts.

IG Metall and IG Druck, the engineering and printing workers' unions, have waged embittered industrial disputes for a 35-hour week without loss of pay. Herr Lafontaine argues that this linkage need no longer strictly apply.

A left-wing Social Democrat, he is enthusiastically applauded by right-wing Christian Democrats, liberal economic policy experts and thoughtful trade unionists.

His critics are mainly from SPD ranks, especially Social Democratic wage- and salary-earners. For the time being, however, his critics are definitely on the defensive.

Saar Premier Lafontaine has been most successful in politics. Will his venture into economic policy be equally successful?

Are shorter working hours for correspondingly lower pay a really viable solution, arguably *the* solution, to mass unemployment?

Higher wage costs are clearly unlikely in practice to make a serious contribution toward reducing unemployment.

If shorter hours are worked on shop-



floors and in offices yet labour costs nonetheless continue to rise, employers will inevitably do all they can to make ends meet without hiring new staff.

In offices this is relatively simple. Coffee breaks can be cut instead of working hours.

On shopfloors it is much more difficult. Shorter working hours often lead to additional investment, but not in jobs; capital is invested in new and more efficient machinery.

Insistence on shorter working hours with no wage cuts is problematic on social as well as economic grounds.

Fr Oswald von Nell-Breuning SJ, the Roman Catholic social policy specialist, has accused the trade unions of being prepared to forgo working hours by way of solidarity with the unemployed but of insisting on retaining full pay.

A combination of more spare time, higher wages and fewer people out of work is indeed an equation that can hardly be expected to work.

By not insisting on full wages for a shorter working week the working population could help to ensure that shorter working hours do create new jobs.

This move, while not being the sole prerequisite, is a most important one. Labour market conditions are far too complex for there to be a direct link. An unemployed steelworker in Rheinhausen in the Ruhr does not necessarily stand to gain from a job vacancy in Fellbach, near Stuttgart. By the same token, a vacancy for a toolmaker is of no use to a clerical worker.

Heinz Oskar Vetter says a working week shorter by three hours would immediately and automatically create one million new jobs. In theory he is right, but only in theory.

Nothing whatever is to be gained by suggesting, as Herr Lafontaine also does, that only the more well-to-do need make a financial sacrifice for the unemployed.

Shorter working weeks on correspondingly lower salaries for managerial staff and engineers is not going to create new jobs for unemployed men who are unskilled or have learnt the "wrong" skills — not to mention women anxious to find part-time employment.

So the catalogue of problems and provisoes is by no means complete. The trade unions rightly ask who will guarantee them that in return for not insisting on wage increases new jobs will definitely be created.

The payroll cannot be laid down for an entire industry in a wage agreement, and union negotiators cannot be expected to believe undertakings given by spokesmen for the employers.

Such objections are most easily dealt with in sectors where the number of jobs can be clearly defined: in teaching, for instance, or in other branches of the public service or in industries where wage agreements are concluded with individual employers, such as Volkswagen.

But the details of how shorter hours are worked are already laid down in individual works agreements, and job undertakings could certainly be made in this context.

It is mainly for the employers here to dispel suspicions that they have merely taken up the Lafontaine proposal to shore up their own position in the struggle to share out the cake.

After over a decade of mass unemployment a serious jobs debate is evidently beginning. It is late in the day, but maybe not yet too late.

Uwe Vorkötter

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 9 March 1988)

Bonn in Africa

Continued from page 2

to a lesser extent in Angola. Herr von Weizsäcker did so in Zimbabwe.

Bonn and the West in general here have a fresh opportunity of bringing influence to bear, given that the Soviet Union, with its domestic difficulties, faces growing problems in connection with its commitments in Africa.

Apartheid in South Africa is a more immediate and thornier issue. Recent bans have shown how indifferent the South African government has grown to international reactions.

This reduces the opportunities open to the West of exerting influence and makes economic sanctions, which are rightly opposed by Bonn, none the more sensible.

The only solution continues to be dialogue between all concerned, as must repeatedly be made clear to angry black Africans. Violence and destruction can do them nothing but harm.

Bernt Conrad

(Die Welt, Bonn, 29 February 1988)

Continued from page 3

high-ranking negotiating partners and a supplementary touristic programme.

This is particularly true when several delegations come at once.

Herr Schäfer asks the provincial travellers to try and imagine a situation in which governors from the 50 US states "keep on travelling non-stop throughout the world" and constantly knocking on Bonn's door. "We couldn't handle it here," he explains.

The Foreign Office has also taken offence at the high-handed nature of the way many *Land* leaders have organised their visits.

"We have discovered," Herr Schäfer complains, "that during such visits our ambassadors are often left standing outside the door."

With diplomatic restraint he expresses his criticism of this development in the cautious remark: "This is extremely odd too."

Claus Wettermann

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 11 March 1988)

Public service wage talks: head-on clash

The Federal and *Land* governments and the local authorities have called the latest round of pay negotiations for public sector employees "the most difficult in postwar history".

Trade unionists cannot rule out the possibility that many Easter holidaymakers will get an unpleasant surprise if they travel by train or need customs clearance.

If the arbitration negotiations in the dispute over higher pay and less working time for the 2.75 million wage and salary earners in the public sector prove unsuccessful one of the toughest industrial conflicts in German post-war history looms on the horizon.

The conflict might be just as bitter as the dispute in the engineering industry in 1984.

The current round of negotiations is particularly difficult, since the unions are unwilling to sign any agreement which does not include "a marked step towards the 35-hour week" alongside pay increases.

Employers, however, have so far been completely unwilling to back down on the question of working time.

One hour less work, they claim, would lead to additional costs amounting to DM5.3bn.

The five-per-cent increase the unions demand, which encompass pay increases and a reduction of working time, would result in an additional financial burden for the Federal, *Land* and local government budgets of DM13bn.

The municipalities alone would have to finance additional costs of DM1.7bn if the 40-hour week were reduced to a 39-hour week with no pay loss and with a corresponding increase in personnel.

The municipalities, however, already lack DM6bn and have this time adopted an extremely tough line against union demands.

This is a new feature of pay negotiations in this sector, since in the past the municipalities were the most willing to give in to union demands.

They stand to suffer most from industrial action in towns and cities, for example, if dustmen go on strike, local traffic is brought to a standstill, power cuts are organised or hospitals turned into emergency stations.

The financial problems facing the local authorities, however, are so great at the moment that they have to take a tougher stance.

The Public Service and Transport Workers Union (ÖTV), the railway workers union, the postal workers union and the German Salaried Employee Union (DAG) nevertheless hope that the settlement achieved five years ago, which was supervised by Hermann Höcherl (CSU) and Walter Krause (SPD) as arbitrators, will also lead to a solution this time.

In 1983 the arbitrators suggested that collective bargaining partners should "also take advantage of the contractual possibilities of reducing working time."

The unemployment figure is higher today than it was five years ago. Will Höcherl and Krause therefore try to express their recommendations in concrete figures on a reduction of working hours this time?

Employers, however, seem at most willing to accept this for a later stage, perhaps at the beginning of the forthcoming decade.

They maintain that the public service sector should not assume the function of trailblazer in the field of reducing working time.

At present, roughly eight million people in the Federal Republic of Germany work less than forty hours a week.

The past stages of working time reduction in private industry also took time before being implemented.

The token strikes by 300,000 employees at the end of February made it clear that the unions will not listen to the arguments forwarded by the employers.

They will continue to threaten to do all within their power to achieve their goal.

No other industrial union finds it so easy to call a strike, since — as opposed to the situation in private industry — public sector employees cannot be locked out.

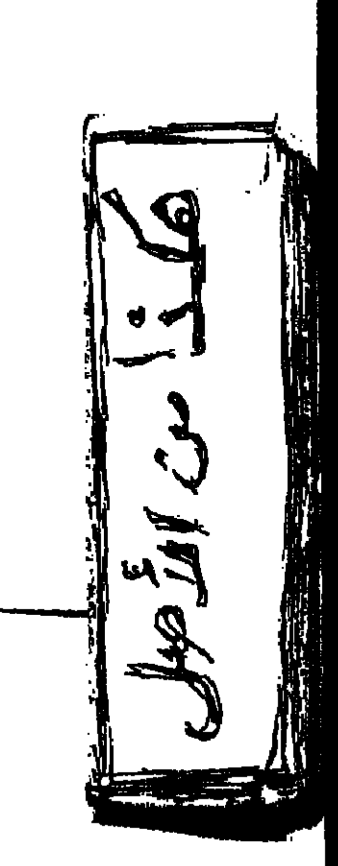
The idea that ministers and mayors would resort to such a measure to bring hospitals, airports, railway stations, buses and trams to a standstill is simply unimaginable.

So far the trade unions have not made full use of their power.

One can only hope that they will behave in a responsible manner this time round.

Klaus Kramer

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 9 March 1988)



■ TRADE

Venues vie for a slice of the trade fair cake

The number of fairs and exhibitions held in the Federal Republic continuously increases. Many cities are now vying with each other for a slice of this lucrative cake. To be successful, however, city authorities must assess trends in good time and be prepared to meet the increasing demands made by fair organisers and exhibitors.

The schedule of trade fairs in the Federal Republic gets longer and their commercial and industrial range gets ever broader.

A fairs fanatic could visit one in the Federal Republic almost every day of the year.

There has been a long tradition of fairs and exhibitions in this country and organisers are considered to be the most experienced in the world.

Ninety per cent of fairs and exhibitions that attract the most international attention take place in the Federal Republic.

In the course of this year 104 fairs and exhibitions are scheduled to take place with an ever-growing number of exhibitors from all over the world setting up their stands on more and more fair space.

A glance at the 1986 figures gives some idea of the significance and international nature of the fair and exhibition business in the Federal Republic.

In 1986 there were 100 trade and general fairs and exhibitions which were visited by 7.6m people. They admired and got acquainted with products from more than 95,000 exhibitors, including 36,000 from abroad.

Düsseldorf topped the list of fair visitors in 1986 with 1.51m. Hanover came next with 1.08m, then Munich and Frankfurt each with 1.02m.

The statistics show that 860,000 visitors turned up for fairs and exhibitions in Cologne and 690,000 visited a fair in Berlin.

Sixty per cent of the stands from overseas came from European Community country exhibitors and 20 per cent from the rest of Europe.

Ten per cent of the foreign exhibitors represented trade and industry from America and a similar figure from Asia. There were approximately one million visitors from overseas.

The largest industrial fair in the world, the Hanover Fair, takes place in the Federal Republic.

The fairs that attract the most general public attention are the International Motor Show in Frankfurt, the international trade and crafts exhibition in Munich, the consumer goods fair Anuga and the photographic exhibition, Photo-Kina, both in Cologne, the international boat show and the printing and paper fair, Drupa, both in Düsseldorf, the food and agricultural produce exhibition in Berlin, Green Week, and the Frankfurt book fair.

These all reflect the attraction of the Federal Republic's fair and exhibition facilities. But covetous eyes have been turned on the Federal Republic's success in this sector.

The main fair and exhibition venues in the Federal Republic are increasingly having to face up to competition, domestically and abroad.

Last year, at capital goods exhibitions, there was a 10-per-cent increase in the number of visitors and increased interest from abroad by exhibitors and specialists in specific fields. But this sector of industry has also been covered by America and Asia.

Many cities and local authorities, until now relatively small in the fair and exhibition business, are now trying to get a larger slice of what appears at first sight to be this lucrative cake.

In America there is a continuous growth in the number of fairs and exhibitions staged, the number of exhibitors interested in these events and the amount of stand space available for leasing.

Over the past 10 years the number of fairs and exhibitions of interest for German trade and industry has increased by 300 per cent in Asia.

Fairs and exhibitions are events at which manufacturers can get a clearer idea of the complexities of international trade.

The need for explanation and clarification about products and the solution of problems has become greater with the increased pace of technical progress. This can be achieved swiftly by personal contacts between exhibitors and visitors at fairs and exhibitions.

This can be a factor for maintaining the attraction of fairs and exhibitions in the future. But there are developments that can damage the enthusiasm of our industrial age for fairs and exhibitions.

The number of fairs and exhibitions staged worldwide is increasing. That creates competition which stimulates business. But this can give rise to competitive situations that could be harmful.

Things do not go ahead everywhere as efficiently as they do in Munich, for example. The fair organisation there has specialised in events allied to the building industry and so has been able to develop into a major centre for fairs and exhibitions.

In this way Düsseldorf has been able to press ahead with Interpack, in the face of 60 competitors. Five of them, Birmingham in Britain, New York, Paris, Milan and Basle, are now important fair and exhibition centres.

There was a long waiting list of computer firms wanting to take part in the Hanover Fair. The problem was eventually solved by organising Cebit to give the computer industry access to the Hanover event, but this was not welcomed in all quarters.

There has been a fragmentation of activity in computer exhibitions. There are now more than a hundred regional computer fairs and exhibitions. In some places standards leave a lot to be desired which is uncalled-for at a time when businessmen must calculate their costs closely.

Munich has shown that high quality can adequately deal with competition.

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES
SONNTAGSBLATT

Munich latched on to the world of electronics and high technology very early on.

The secret of Munich's success with technology fairs is to link them to congresses at which internationally-renowned experts can outline to an international audience the latest developments, trends and utilisation possibilities of current technical research.

The fairs and exhibition business has to recognise new trends in good time. The rapid changes taking place in the age structure in the country and the change to service industries and a consumer society are of considerable importance as regards health, leisure, hobbies and the environment, with increasing importance being attached to visiting trade fairs and exhibitions as a leisure activity.

Ingeborg Thöns-Schwede

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 28 February 1988)

Not all fun at the fair

Despite appearances, being a hostess at a fair or exhibition is not a bed of roses. The hours are long and the pay is poor.

Karin Arnold, 28, a fair hostess for nine years, said: "When I first went to a fair for part-time work I thought I had landed a dream job. I really believed that I would earn a lot and not have too much to do."

She continued: "On the first evening I no longer had such nonsense in my head, but my feet ached awfully. I was totally done in."

She discovered that a job at a fair or exhibition was interesting but hard work. The idea of it being a dream job came to grief on her first day, but she has still continued. Why?

"I wanted the money for my studies and the work was never routine," she said.

Her colleague Danielle Urich had the same to say about working at a fair. "It's no joke. It is tough work."

But her reasons for working on fair and exhibition stands over the past four years are different.

She said: "I'm a housewife and I just have to mix with people occasionally. If it were a matter of the money, I would never do it."

Karin Arnold will never forget one Drupa fair, the printing and paper exhibition in Düsseldorf, when she had to hold the fort alone on a two-tiered stand covering 400 square metres.

She said: "It was a nightmare. Up and down the stairs all the time, not a moment's rest. I was in tears by the end of each day. And all for DM150 per day."

Paris-born Danielle Urich had to act as interpreter at the plastics fair on a joint stand involving 12 firms. She earned DM250. Interpreters are far better paid.

"In the evening I had to vacuum-clean the stand, and by then you could have knocked me over with a feather," she said.

Karin Morbach-Döring has arranged hostesses for Düsseldorf fairs for the past 15 years. She handles a many as 5,000 cases a year.

She said that she often found that women, when thesy first called at her office, had quite the wrong idea about the job.

In her files she has details of 500 possible hostesses. The names of most of the "regulars" she has in her head. She knows what each of them can do.

The requirements for each fair are different. For fashion shows it is vital

Continued on page 8

■ INDUSTRY

Product liability plans leave loopholes that worry consumer associations

Süddeutsche Zeitung

In 1944 the Californian Supreme Court delivered a momentous ruling in the Escola v. Coca Cola Bottling case.

A waitress sued Coca Cola for damages. She had taken a Coke bottle out of the crate to put it into the icebox and it exploded.

No-one ever did find out why. Maybe the glass was defective, maybe the pressure was too high when the bottle was filled. The lawyers discussed at length whether the bottler was to blame. Judge Taynor ruled that it didn't matter who was to blame.

He found the company responsible for having bottled and marketed the Coke that blew up in the waitress's face.

That was the dawn of the manufacturer's liability for damage caused by his product. US courts have since gone from strength on all aspects of this point.

German courts have been more circumspect. In Germany the story begins in the late 1960s on a battery farm where the farmer had a vet inoculate his hens against pip, an epidemic poultry disease.

The vet had just taken delivery of the vaccine from the manufacturer, but days later an outbreak of pip killed over 4,000 inoculated hens.

The farm had to shut down. The farmer sued for damages. The vaccine was found to have contained impurities. No-one knew how it came to do so.

The Federal Supreme Court ruled that the onus was on the manufacturer to prove his innocence. He was unable to do so and, presumed guilty, was ordered to pay damages.

The legal profession has worked out in painstaking detail a framework within which to handle cases of this kind, sharing risks in a manner that makes sense in an age of mass production.

As a rule, consumers no longer order goods straight from the manufacturer; they buy them from a dealer, who in turn orders them from a wholesaler.

The retailer is in no position to check whether mass-produced goods, let alone goods sold in their original packaging, are defective.

It is for the manufacturer to ensure that the products he markets are safe. He is thus legally liable should he fail to prove his innocence.

It would have been much easier — easier than to allocate the onus of proof — to rule, as Judge Taynor did, that the manufacturer of a product was liable for any damage it caused, regardless who was to blame.

A ruling of this magnitude could only be given by way of legislation, which happens to be in the pipeline at present. The Bonn Cabinet has just approved a product liability Bill.

The Bill provides for manufacturer's liability regardless who is to blame. This provision is, sensibly, to apply throughout Europe.

Product liability will, of course, be a substantial cost factor from the manufacturer's point of view. Legal differences between one country and the next could falsify the competitive position.

So the Council of the European Communities issued on 25 July 1985 its guideline on standardising national arrangements for product liability.

Member-countries were required to pass appropriate legislation by the end of July 1988.

The European Community guideline is the result of a tug-of-war between industrial and consumer interests, as can be seen paragraph by paragraph in both the guideline and the German Bill.

The emphasis is on physical injury, but damages are not to be awarded. Damage to property is to be paid provided it exceeds DM1,035 (the original figure is in ECUs, or European currency units).

Where entire product runs are found to be defective the Federal government proposes to limit total damages, by means of a special provision to which it is entitled, to DM145m (70 million ECUs).

Damages to property will only be awarded to private consumers, not to commercial users. Damages will not be payable in respect of the defective product either, merely in respect of damage to or destruction of another item or items.

That is why carmakers in particular are unperturbed. Flat tyres and faulty steering columns will not cost them much more than at present.

Besides, much to the chagrin of consumer associations, long-term damages claims are to be ruled out.

Product liability is to expire after 10 years, and an even larger loophole has been laid on, one that is sure to interest the chemical and pharmaceutical industries in particular.

Manufacturers will bear no liability where development risks are concerned.

Farmers, fishermen and huntsmen can view the prospect of product liability with even less foreboding than carmakers. Bonn persuaded the European Community to rule out product liability for natural products.

So farmers will not be liable to recompense consumers for poisoned foodgrain or toxins in meat. Fishermen will not be liable for damages caused by fish caught in mercury-polluted waters.

Product liability is only incurred after processing — once the meat is turned into sausage or the fish has been canned.

Until processing the farmer, fisherman and hunter are only liable within the framework of the civil code, which is a plaintiff's only recourse in other cases where product liability leaves loopholes.

But proving liability is easier said than done.

Heribert Prantl

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 29 February 1988)

Continued from page 7

that hostesses to-be have had some experience in the rag trade.

Young girls bursting with confidence come along asking for jobs with the fashion show Igedo. They are immediately asked: "Have you had any experience in the women's clothing industry."

The answer is invariably: "No, I come from the sticks."

Karin Morbach-Döring said: "I cannot recommend them for jobs with the fashion fair. The exhibitors want to sell their collections so they want personnel who have had experience in selling women's fashions."

Sizes also play an important role in fashion fairs, where sizes 36 and 38 are most in demand. The women on the stands wear the exhibitor's models and they have to look good in them.

Karin Morbach-Döring said: "Industrial exhibitors would prefer 20-year-olds with the experience of women of 30, who speak four languages — all for DM100 a day."

A hostess at an industrial fair has any number of duties to perform. They extend from making and serving the coffee to booking air tickets and dealing with printers, when there has to be a prospectus reprint.

Karin Morbach-Döring said: "Only women with fair experience or a natural talent can take this sort of thing on."

A hostess has to be a talented linguist. A woman who can speak the usual foreign languages such as English, French or Spanish as well as one of the not so usual, such as Chinese, Arabic or Malayalam (spoken in Kerala, south India), is certain of a job.

A good hostess radiates a pleasant personality, has a feel for things and behaves impeccably. She must also be good to look at and not over 40.

Anyone who thinks these "dreamy women" get "dream pay" is very wrong. The daily pay for a hostess starts at DM150 per day and rarely goes over DM250 — and a fair day lasts usually ten hours.

Often hostesses have to negotiate their own pay. Karin Arnold said: "That often leads to misunderstanding. Foreign firms indicate that payment will be made via the labour exchange."

She continued: "I have not experienced this myself but colleagues have told me that they have had to chase their pay for weeks on end."

Danielle Urich has had other worries as regards pay. She said: "Often a newcomer turns up at the stand, glad to have a job. They knock the price down for the old hands."

Angelika Allan

(Rheinische Post, Düsseldorf, 20 February 1988)

The writer of this article, Nicoline Henkel, is an adviser on environmental affairs employed by the city of Kiel.

Our daily dose of toxic food additives

Everyone would expect vitamin C-enriched orange juice to be healthy, but it could also be described as "pure natural orange juice enriched with the anti-oxydation agent E300."

Chemically speaking, E300 is vitamin C (or, arguably, vice-versa).

Foodstuff additives were not first invented by modern manufacturers. Many permitted substances occur in nature.

They include betanine, or beetroot colouring, and benzoic acid, a preservative occurring naturally in blackcurrants.

"Natural" cooking uses similar additives, such as a few drops of lemon juice to ensure that mushrooms stay white while being fried, the use of flour to thicken sauce or of pectins to make jams and preserves.

When foodstuffs manufacturers add preservatives or colouring agents to their products they are required to list them by their "E" numbers on the packaging.

"E" stands for Europe, but few European consumers have the slightest idea what the numbers stand for.

This uncertainty is compounded by the appearance of a forged list of additives and their alleged side-effects which has spread like wildfire round schools, kindergartens and works canteens since 1985.

It is said to have been drawn up by a French hospital, but the hospital in question disowned it in 1978.

Despite such forgeries we would be better without a number of additives, such as propionic acid (E280), used to *prevent green mould on sliced bread*, which for two years has been known to cause stomach cancer in laboratory animals.

Consumers could also well do without amaranth (E123), a red colouring used in confectionery, blancmange, custard and soft drinks.

It is an artificial substance that can trigger allergic responses, and its use has been banned in the United States since 1976.

Austria was first to follow in America's footsteps. France, Italy and Belgium only permit its use in exceptional circumstances.

Norway, Sweden and Greece have prohibited the use of all artificial, allergenic colouring agents in foodstuffs. The Federal Republic of Germany has yet to ban amaranth.

There have been consequences. One is that consumers keen to eat natural, wholefoods have been attracted to food sold with the tag "contains no added preservatives."

It has come to be seen as a seal of quality for bread, salads and dairy products.

Preservatives, while not always being necessary, do have their good points. Nitric salt used to salt beef and pork stops meat from spoiling and keeps toxic bacteria and food poisoning at bay.

Manufacturers have long since ceased wondering which additives are really important as a means of ensuring a supply of inexpensive foodstuffs.

Instead they are constantly on the lookout for new products and keen on making simple ingredients into new products.

They naturally have to be made more attractive optically, which means artificial colouring. In the sweets and confectionery industry colouring and other additives are little more than a way of making new and profitable products out of sugar.

A basic recipe might include sugar, E406 (agar-agar, a jelly based on algae), E330 (citric acid), E104, E110, E124 and E132 (artificial colourings) and aromas. That is what jelly babies, for instance, consist of.

The health hazard posed by all additives is checked before their use is authorised, but that doesn't include their allergenic properties and their combined effect on the body. These are risks the consumer runs.

Nicoline Henkel

(Kieler Nachrichten, 13 February 1988)

■ AVIATION

Frankfurt airport plans expansion to handle extra traffic

Peter Pflugbeil's office has a fine view of Frankfurt airport's flying circus. A sign in his office says: "The optimism of action is better than the pessimism of thinking."

Last year was a hard year at Rhine-Main international airport; this year will be harder. Maybe the motto will help the head of air traffic handling and his 3,200 employees in the coming months to cope with an expected increase in the number of passengers. At present they handle 800 take-offs and landings and 80,000 passengers daily.

Frankfurt started air traffic handling preparations six months ago for the summer season on the basis of general forecasts and specific announcements by airlines.

The airport has needed the time to hire and train 250 new staff and to buy new equipment. Frankfurt has had to buy new lifting trucks for containers to fit the new Airbus, the A 320. The ones they have do not fit the Airbus's vital statistics.

The airport's schedule planners have computer-simulated summer traffic. The computer stored information on who and what and where and when manpower will be needed. The heaviest traffic is expected over long weekends.

Düsseldorf is Germany's charter flight centre. Frankfurt is more for businessmen. Frankfurt charter flights are usually at weekends and have played a minor role. But now airlines are boosting charter traffic disproportionately at weekends.

Expanding cheap holiday travel at weekends is the now main kind of flying at Frankfurt, though even at weekends Frankfurt still sees itself primarily as a flight centre for businessmen. And feels it's important to have a good interna*tional reputation for this class of travel.*

But this reputation suffered last year, which was notable for its delays. Unexpectedly strong growth overloaded infrastructure and airspace. For the first time in years the parking orbits in the skies, particularly over Frankfurt and Munich, made losses.

Moreover the airports had bottlenecks in personnel and technical areas of German airline safety. The bottlenecks confirm the flight control staff association's statement that safety can only be maintained at the expense of punctuality.

The consequences have been unpleasant. Passengers missed flights to connecting flights abroad. European airports have tight schedules and have difficulty making up on delays.

Some airlines are now looking for compensation from airport administrators for the delays. One station manager demanded a 50-per-cent rebate on the DM24,000 landing and handling costs of a Jumbo jet because of a late start.

The airports will have to look more closely into the problem if they want to stop the rot.

In this specific case the delay, which had been preceded by a delayed landing, resulted from overloading airport safety.

The airport gave the delayed customer a rebate of DM3,500 because they had good business relations with each other.

Peter Pflugbeil says that despite the number of annoyed passengers there has been no dramatic increase in complaints by airlines.

The outlook is that in the daily struggle for punctuality, airlines have to take into account the complexity of running an airport before they start complaining about loss of revenue.

Lufthansa is by far Frankfurt's biggest customer. It regularly complains of delays of more than ten minutes to the airport's handling department. They in return say they are only responsible for 60 per cent of delays.

Other airlines write, telex or telephone complaints. Such complaints could help to improve services.

In any case the Frankfurt professionals are proud that they can often make up for delays. Data shows that planes which landed late often still managed to take off on time.

Frankfurt has been boasting for years it can transfer passengers and their luggage to connecting flights quickly. They guarantee airlines and passengers a transfer in a magic 45 minutes. That is good going when one considers the sluggishness of other large airports.

A switch in 1974 to a new electronically controlled luggage distribution system enabled them to do this. An airport with such a mass of people changing planes had to have it.

At that time it was the only one of its kind.

It's a forty kilometre long magnetically driven luggage conveyor, controlled by switches, tows and computers with input panels and code banks.

The failure rate (luggage lost or mislaid) was for years only one in a thousand. Which was so low planners and users of the airport congratulated each other about it.

But performance dropped. It's now 1.5 per 1,000. The airport handled twelve million pieces of luggage last year. And this meant eight thousand *complaints.*

If the airport is at fault for taking longer than 45 minutes, it pays Lufthansa a two-figure lump-sum per suitcase. This amounted to DM650,000 last year. The airport's reputation for dealing with a throng of passengers is declining slowly.

After racking their brains the authorities say Frankfurt airport will have to be enlarged without delay. Experts say



the airport will be handling 30 million passengers annually by the year 2000.

So the airport intends to move general aviation, repair hangars and catering to the old [illegible] to make room for a new terminal. It will handle eight million people a year.

The terminal will have its own luggage distributor and its own highway to ease the traffic congestion at the old exits.

An automatic link will connect the waiting-rooms between the old and new buildings. Travelators built at the beginning of the seventies like the ones at Gate Y of the central terminal are obsolete.

It has not been decided who will get the lucrative contract. Westinghouse, the market leader in America, has apparently only experience with warm climates.

Perhaps Frankfurt will get the hover-train of which AEG is the leading developer.

The airport has not given all the details of its plans. No wonder conservationists are suspicious. It's unclear how the increase in traffic at peak times will be dealt with. It would overload the three runways. So there is speculation now about a fourth or fifth runway. In view of the fact that the airport is wedged between highways and an American airbase, it would not make any sense to build them. Does that mean they intend to increase the use of large-capacity aircraft? This would increase the amount of passengers without increasing the flights. But if the EEC's liberalisation of the short commuter flights also takes effect in Frankfurt, then the increased turnover would block capacity for intercontinental connections, which are more suited to the role of the airport.



Braced for the onslaught: check-in at Rhine-Main International airport, Frankfurt (Photo: Lufthansa)

One solution might be to let airlines land at (and not just take off from) the new Western runway, a view which has the support of Lufthansa chief executive officer Heinz Ruhnau. But there is no agreement among experts on this.

The formal resolutions on the airport would have to be revised. But politicians are afraid of having violent demonstrations at the airport about its construction like they have had in the past.

On the other hand, the airport management have shown they believe in growth despite the restrictions in Frankfurt. They believe growth justifies spending millions on the comfort of passengers.

The jams which take place at certain hours would seem to justify relocating some of the checking-in facilities to a satellite building.

The use of the east terminal would put more aircraft in reach of a terminal. The passengers could get comfortably on and off. This would alleviate one of the airport's oldest problems.

Airports all over Europe are enlarging. Paris is completing Charles de Gaulle. Londons's Heathrow built a handsome terminal 4 two years ago, increasing passenger handling capacity from 30 million to 38 million a year. Frankfurt had 23 million in 1987. London Gatwick is also be enlarged.

Castrup, Copenhagen, has plans to become an important European fulcrum for air travel. The Danes intend to keep the traveller's needs in mind while they do it.

Rome's Fiumicino airport — Europe's No. 4 — will also have to modernise and improve its image.

Amsterdam's Schiphol has a great image. For years it has been praised for its facilities. It is an unusually popular, pleasant airport with a fine duty-free shop precinct. But even here an expensive ten-year extension plan is being unveiled.

The Frankfurt management will soon have competition within its own borders. In 1991 Munich will be on the map. Munich's Riem airport has regulations which have limited its scope to sell itself.

But in 1991 the city will have an attractive new Munich II airport. It will not have a large reserve capacity but it will have better connections than ever.

Munich II in Erdinger Moos will only employ 8,000 people. This is not much in comparison to the 45,000 employees of the airlines, forwarding firms, public authorities and service industries at Frankfurt airport.

But employment might grow at Munich II if Lufthansa carry out their announcement to relocate there part of their Airbus fleet, crews and repair yards.

In 1992 Frankfurt will start up its east terminal. There was no competition for the design. Airport authorities said there was not enough time for one.

The building will be cross-shaped, 300 metres long and 60 metres wide. Many architects were annoyed at not having the chance at least to compete.

Supposedly the building will service only international flights. The airport will have to deal with a new generation of Jumbos whose wingspan will be 70 metres and more.

With regard to the architecture, it will possibly be the last chance to build at Frankfurt airport without the functionalism of the 1972 central terminal, or the marble and glass ostentation of the 1988 Frankfurt Airport Centre.

Such architecture has made the Gateway to Germany dull. This belies the international airport's dynamism.

Frankfurt airport also has its dark and provincial sides. It has trouble with the insecure state in the cellars of its underground garages. The staircases to the cellars smell terribly. Many regular users have given up complaining.

The basement, where luggage counters will displace a clothes discount shop, has always been an insipid floor. The woodcraft of two pubs does not improve matters much either.

On the other hand the airport's "Dorian Gray" disco is at the end of the dark tunnel. It's an exotic service like the mall between the A and B gates. Perhaps one day they will have a casino.

Utz Heinzelmann, head of the rent and concessions, which earn a fifth of the airport's income, would like to see one.

There is no indication when that will happen. It depends on the make-up of the airport's management. The idea is already 15 years old.

Jörg Kauffmann

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 3 March 1988)

■ THE ARTS

'Cats' producer Friedrich Kurz puts Germany on musical map

Mannheimer MORGEN

The musical in the Federal Republic was sleeping a Sleeping Beauty sleep until it was kissed to life by the British composer Andrew Lloyd Webber.

The musical is the talk of the town not only in London and New York but also in German cities where musicals are becoming smash hits with young audiences.

The new musicals have been well received by the critics. Hits such as *A Chorus Line*, *Evita* and *Cats* are the musical art forms of the 1980s.

The experts are not at one on the reasons for the success of the musical. Concert impresario Klaus Hoffmeister in Mannheim believes that young people in general have had enough of pop. He said: "Young people want something more than just yelling."

Urs Leicht, literary manager of the Mannheim National Theatre, regards the musical as a logical development from operetta. He believes that it is also a sign of the times. People now want to be entertained. They do not want socially critical theatre.

Friedrich Kurz, a musicals producer, sees things more simply. He said confidently: "In the Federal Republic is an enormous hunger for live entertainment."

He comes from Nürtingen in Swabia and applied his tough managerial methods to whip the *Cats* production in Hamburg to success.

Recently show business (with the accent on the second word) has become a huge market with enormous growth potential.

Increased demand from the public in the Federal Republic is fed by a constantly increasing number of productions from the current high priest of the musical, Andrew Lloyd Webber.

There have been 740 performances of *Cats* in Hamburg, and rehearsals are well under way in Bochum for a production of *Starlight Express*, due to open on 27 May.

Discussions have been held in Hamburg for the leasing of the Flora Theater, to be renovated at a cost of DM30m, for the German première of Lloyd Webber's latest production, *Phantom of the Opera*.

Kurz operates in no small way. His slogan is: "A new theatre for every musical." But his efforts in this direction include another aim: he dearly wants to make Hamburg the musical Mecca of the Federal Republic.

But Hamburg will have to share this reputation with others. Vienna, for instance, was aware of the way things were going far earlier.

There have been 1,400 performances of *Cats* at Peter Weck's Theater an der Wien, and the curtain has gone up on *A Chorus Line* 100 times already at the Raimundtheater in Vienna.

Other parts of the Federal Republic are well served by guest performances. Mannheim musicals fans, for instance, have been able to see *Hair*, *Kiss me Kate*, and *Evita*.

Klaus Hoffmeister underlines the trends of the times by saying with some pride that a performance of *West Side Story* on 10 May is a sell-out for the 10th time within the year.

He says there have been problems in obtaining performing rights and they are not cheap.

Lloyd Webber markets his work through his own company, the Really Useful Theatre Company, set up to do just this. The shares in this company are quoted on the London Stock Exchange.

He sells his musicals only in packages with worldwide copyright not only for the musical itself but for the stage sets and choreography.

He has controllers who ensure that productions in New York or Tokyo, Amsterdam or Hamburg conform to the originals.

Friedrich Kurz also runs his business with tough management. He studied business management and has read the economic barometer concerning the development of the musical well.

He persuades private investors to put up the money for his productions, investors who are prepared to take the risk for high profits or risk a flop.

He is also said to be unprepared to compromise in his attitudes to the musical's performers and company.

When *Cats* opened in Hamburg the press wrote about "the American way of doing things" and "cast-iron contracts." Performers are only told two weeks before the end of a six-month contract whether they are to be engaged for the next six months. But if they want to quit they have to give a year's notice.

Kurz brushes his critics aside, saying: "If someone is unhappy with the arrangements then another gets a chance."

He points out that when his critics say that he is acting in a brutal American way they should take a look at the way performers are dealt with in America.

A Chorus Line gave musicals fans some idea of this.

The younger generation of musicals performers in the Federal Republic is none too promising, according to the experts in the field.

They point out that there are not many good German performers available for musicals. So Friedrich Kurz has auditions for singers and dancers for the chorus line in his musicals. Foreigners are also auditioned.

In this way he has discovered "more and more young Germans who in a year or two will be suitable."

He is currently thinking in terms of a musicals school, along the lines of the ballet school John Neumeier has established in Hamburg, working together with experts in the field such as the British director Trevor Nunn. The Berlin College of Art has a pilot project going along these lines. For the past two years 22 young people have been studying the musical. To join the eight-semester course they have to have been trained as dancers. Apart from dancing the study programme includes elocution lessons and singing instruction. When they have graduated at the required standards they are almost certain of getting work. So long as the public demand for musicals remains, producers and concert managers will continue to flirt with this current darling of musical theatre. Friedrich Kurz, speaking for the musicals world in the Federal Republic, says: "I can imagine 30 to 40 musicals running in the Federal Republic. I don't see this as a short-term trend. It is the beginning of a major development."

Manfred Schweidler

(Mannheimer Morgen, 16 February 1988)



Fritz Kurz: media magazine cover photo

Toulouse-Lautrec musical is premiered in Saarbrücken

A musical based on the life of Count Henri Marie Raymond de Toulouse-Lautrec-Monfa, to give the French impressionist painter his full name, entitled *Petit Bijou*, has opened at the Saarländisches Staatstheater in Saarbrücken.

The setting is the Paris of 1900. Was it the Belle Epoque or Fin de Siècle? Is it nights of living like a lord at the turn of the century or the decay of middle-class values in the bars, cabarets and brothels of Montmartre?

In the middle of all this is a spoiled aristocrat's son who mixes with the ugly and the beautiful, portraying them both and losing himself in them.

This is the stuff of theatrical fantasy. It would have had to be invented if Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec had not lived.

He was born in Albi in 1864 and died in 1901. His life and death is the subject of the Saarbrücken musical.

The title, *Petit Bijou*, is taken from the pet name given the painter who broke both his legs as a child which prevented his normal growth.



Günter Bothur and Andrea Ossian in 'Petit Bijou' (Photo: Julius C. Schmidt)

He was regarded as an adornment to French art by some, a shame by others.

The idea for the musical, from the libretto, to the music, to the staging is a joint effort of the Saar ensemble.

More than 100 people work on and off stage in this production. Because of this the management insisted on a simple set. There is no sumptuous curtain in front of the stage, but the atmosphere is created by the cast itself.

The chorus, corps de ballet and the actors all work together to create charming tableaux. Lothar Trautmann's direction is a theatrical treat for the eye.

This musical is entertainment but it has its social criticism aspect as well. It includes something of the conflict between young and old, poor and rich, the uncouth and the sublime, pleasure and decline.

But it all remains superficial. Little of the psychological background of this deformed genius, who tried to compensate for his inferiority complex with eccentric art and a dissipated life, is depicted.

What could one say? That behind the facade in Paris everything was not so wonderful and that the old saying still holds good: Vice does not pay. One is already aware of that.

In the first half the audience is introduced to the bustle of Paris, one of the great cities of the world.

The audience watches, along with Toulouse-Lautrec, the sunny side of the city's life with a lot of dancing and music up to the climax at the Moulin Rouge.

The audience sees how he portrayed life as it was in his pictures. At this point his pictures take part in the action and learn to move.

The second half looks at the painter's life. He died at the age of 36, allegedly after having spent some time in a psychiatric clinic, depressed and without hope, suffering from syphilis and alco-

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■ THE ARTS

Stuttgart puppet drama show is on the road

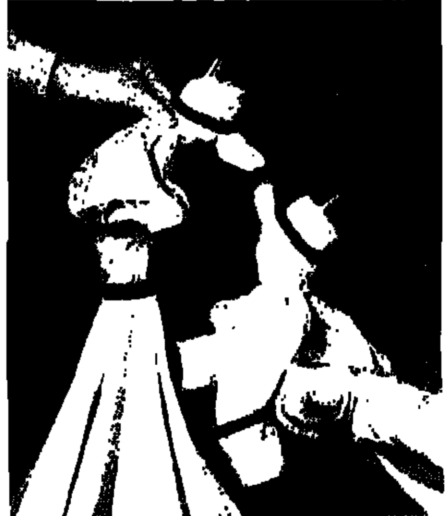
Sigrun Kilger, 24, and Hartmut Liebsch, 27, are the first students in Europe to graduate with a degree in puppetry.

For years this discipline has been part of university studies in the East Bloc, organised by the state and with the final degree given full recognition.

For the past four years a similar course of study has been available at the Stuttgart college of the arts and music. It is the only course of its kind in the Federal Republic and the only one in the West, except for one in France.

Since the two graduated from the college last autumn they have been touring with their puppet show.

They have just returned from performances in the Netherlands. Soon they are to travel to Ravensburg in their "mobile theatre," a converted fire brigade transporter.



Puppets made of serviettes (Photo: Ingrid Hofer)

From Ravensburg they are scheduled to go to Wiesbaden on 24 March where they will perform at the Puppet Conference being staged there.

Sigrun and Hartmut are rehearsing a play for adults which was warmly praised by critics during their student days.

The only props they require are aluminium ladders, a couple of grey, plastic tubes and an enormous sheet.

They use the white material to create the visual and character outlines of their play. These outlines have given the play its name. On stage they present examples of "completely original and human experiences," for instance "care, struggle or suppression."

The play with misshapen or pre-fabricated materials is typical for the kind of puppet theatre that is taught and learned at the Stuttgart college.

This style is closely connected with Werner Knoedschen, lecturer and puppeteer, whose brainchild the new course of study at Stuttgart was.

His puppet theatre has little in common with popular marionette or puppet theatre, which he regards as "garden dwarf theatre."

He wants to get back to the origins of puppet theatre that was developed in the early Middle Ages as a special form of theatre.

It was popular theatre that "came out of a box" and had a cultural significance for a wide stratum of the population.

The actor learns to present the person and the role as a unity. The puppeteer strives in the opposite direction. This art form strives for a separation between the character and the person, who helps bring the character to life. This is how the character gains its alienation effect.

Hartmut lies on the floor. The white material covers his body. Slowly movement begins under the sheet. A figure rises up, two hands grab for the ladder, the thing stands up straight, climbing up by getting a hold on the metal backbone of the ladder. The amorphous shape coalesces into an enormous sculpture.

A plastic pipe is directed to the mouth, a muffled, sustained sound penetrates the room.

The two describe their style as an aesthetics of defect, which is not meant in a negative way.

They create their shapes on the stage with a minimum of material. These shapes constantly bring new images to the mind of the observer.

The choreography of the objects, the appearance and disappearance of the shapes has the effect of a sequence of mythical symbols, combined harmony and contradiction, human warmth and aggression, growth and disappearance. This is the magic of puppet theatre which attracts adults as well.

The white cloth figures recall the clumsy giant puppets of the Bread and Puppet Theatre, New York. As Kilger and Liebsch explain this is not accidental.

The head of this experimental theatre group, Peter Schumann, was a workshop instructor in Stuttgart and has had a lasting influence on the puppet theatre that Kilger and Liebsch have devised.

In their eighth semester in Stuttgart they learned all that was essential to maintain themselves in the contemporary world of theatre.

In their course of studies in Stuttgart they dealt with the theory of aesthetics and the history of puppet theatre, but the emphasis of their project-related studies was on creating forms.

The curriculum for the course included speech-training, instruction on improvisation, body training and the creation of three-dimensional forms.

They were also trained in stage techniques and in how to conduct business affairs relating to theatre.

Four years ago the study of puppeteering was a pilot course, but it has now become established within the college's programme.

The state of Baden-Württemberg is well aware of the prestige the college gains from providing the course and it is possible that, in the not-too-distant future, a chair for puppetry studies will be set up.

The demands made on the 30 or so applicants for the course are considerable. Only six places were available at the beinning of the winter semester. Only those applicants were accepted who passed examination in front of a strict jury, which is usual in a conservatory.

The college demands basically that applicants have the *Abitur*, university entrance examination, but talented young people are admitted without this qualification.

Anyone who has enough breath to climb the 100 steps to the fifth floor of an extensive factory building in Stuttgart will come upon an unusual scene behind a steel door. It is a mix of metal warehouse, workshop and rubbish dump.

There is an Esslingen bus stop sign and an old bicycle frame with dust-bins placed in the centre of the room.

There are plaster casts on the workbenches and paper masks in a nearby room. There is a smell of glue and sawdust.

What appears to be a complete mess in fact offers the students artistic freedom. This liberty must first be taken.

When Kilger, Liebsch and their fellow-students first entered the factory they had a lot of work in front of them. Partitions had to be put up and the area made habitable. They all had to sweat it out together.

The students are very friendly with one another. They work hard and intensively, leisure time and private life overlap. Many of the current 24 students share accommodation.

Sigrun Kilger and Hartmut Liebsch load the puppet theatre bus (Photo: Materialtheater)

Kilger and Liebsch are no longer under the college's wing. They have to do everything themselves from advertising to putting up the stage.

They are now aware that the college was in fact a kind of protection for their artistic development. The change into the commercial world has been like jumping into ice-cold water.

They were not upset when they were not at first given too much attention by the public.

The press showed an interest in the Stuttgart project but that interest has died down now.

When they graduated their study grant came to an end and they get no subsidy from the state. Kilger and Liebsch are well aware that having a degree in puppeteering is no automatic step towards riches.

Their most certain form of income comes from children's theatre. The second piece on their rehearsal programme is "The Breakfast Fairytale" for children between three and 16.

In this piece they perform with very simple props taken from daily life, in fact items that can be seen on any normal breakfast table.

A king leads a regiment on the tabletop. His body is made of a serviette.

He has a coffee pot. A breakfast table knife serves him as a sword. Red-booted he poles his way on two egg-cups through a fantastic breakfast world.

He has to go through many adventures, overcome many table-cloth seas and serviette mountains, before he finds the lady of his heart — a charming serviette princess. That is the end of the performance.

Kilger and Liebsch do not have a day off the next day.

He has any number of appointments to keep. She has applied to take part in the Festival Internationale de la Marionette, the largest European festival, at Charlesville-Mézières.

She also proposes taking part in "Fidena," the puppet theatre of the nations, in Bochum, the most important festival for avantgarde theatre in the Federal Republic.

Performances are scheduled for September and October, but selections are already taking place. Does she have stage fright? "Naturally, and how!"

Hans-Volkmar Findeisen

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 26 February 1988)

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holism. Günter Bothur plays the part brilliantly.

Except for the operetta-like masked ball the 19 individual scenes are very impressive even though some are based on a handful of sentences.

The dialogue is often just commentary rather than argument, but the songs are very much to the point. Friedhelm Lehmann, from Berlin, wrote them. He also writes lyrics for Udo Jürgens.

The song of the laundress Marie is particularly impressive. She poses for Toulouse-Lautrec, confronting him with the naked truth in two senses.

One of the failures of the production is that the songs, well worth hearing, are drowned by the orchestra.

Gottfried Stramm's compositions are catchy, some remain in the mind. He is the head of theatre music in Saarbrükken.

There is a beautiful theme that is woven in various variations throughout the whole of the musical. But the whole score gives the impression that one has heard it before.

That might be because of the period. Much is well-known about it, but there is a suspicion of borrowing all the time. Toulouse-Lautrec himself said: "The new is seldom what really matters."

The applause at the end was long, indicating that the people of Saarbrücken were well pleased with their new musical.

Lutz Tanlow

(Die Welt, Bonn, 1 March 1988)

ENVIRONMENT

Eight-year-old Munich girl's parents sue Bonn for possible Chernobyl damages

Franziska Baumann, a Munich girl now aged 8, took the Bonn government to court in May 1986, a few weeks after the Chernobyl reactor meltdown.

She has yet to suffer discernible damage to mind or body due to nuclear fallout from the Ukraine, but her parents wondered whether she might not one day prove to have been a Chernobyl fallout victim.

They took legal advice and learnt that damages suits must be filed within three years, so they decided to apply instead for a declaratory judgment.

A civil court was to rule on whether the plaintiff — Franziska — was entitled to damages from the accused — the Federal government — for the consequences of inadequate or belated information on the consequences of the 26 April 1986 reactor accident in Chernobyl.

There were to have been three plaintiffs: Franziska and later her brothers Maximilian and Dominik.

Three parties were also to have been sued: the Federal Republic of Germany, the USSR and the Soviet Atomic Industry Association.

Franziska's lawyer says proceedings against the Soviet Union have been dropped, even though all originators were to have been sued, on financial grounds.

The "ecological fund" that is bankrolling the case cannot cover the cost of international litigation.

Frankfurter Allgemeine

On cost grounds proceedings against the *Land* of Bavaria and the city of Munich have been dropped too.

A declaratory judgment has been applied for on the ground that the health hazard can only be assessed in the long term, just as medical research may at some stage unearth a specific connection between Chernobyl and illness in the Federal Republic. A Munich court agreed to deal with the case, thereby letting itself in for a task that was sure to be unprecedented and time-consuming.

The Federal Republic, represented by Bonn government departments in charge of radiation control (departments first at the Interior, later at the Environment Ministry), were ordered in a 9 January 1987 court ruling to submit substantiated information on how radiation measurements had been compiled and evaluated.

This written information, even though it only applied to Bavaria south of the Danube, must have been so substantial as to be most confusing.

On 14 May 1987 the court instructed the Bonn government departments that it was not clear which figures were relevant, as the statistics submitted failed to make matters clear on this point. No mention was made of when measurements had been taken and what was to be understood by the claim that a brisk exchange of data had been undertaken with the Bavarian authorities.

Once these points had been clarified a date was set for the public hearing. The first and probably only witness was a Ministry official who said he was a physicist who had been in radiation protection for 30 years.

Asked whether the fate of all had been in his hands, he did not simply answer: "Certainly not."

His testimony failed, however, to make it clear whether the alarm that held the entire country in its spell after Chernobyl either went unnoticed by the Ministry officials responsible or utterly mesmerised them.

Did they dismiss the scare or did it worry them stiff? The official in the dock could have said, but preferred not to do so, that as time has shown, people in the Federal Republic of Germany by and large escaped by the skin of their teeth.

The court found it extremely difficult to find out from the witness just how he had evaluated the data — the numerous readings, as he put it — that were available at the time.

He was most reluctant to explain how he had personally felt about them or how he had discussed them with colleagues. Among specialists, he unhelpfully explained, you need only to state a figure for everyone to arrive at the right conclusion by themselves.

Once, and once only, the official divulges to the panel of three career judges what his personal feelings had been. On 30 April 1986 the highest fallout readings were recorded at 00.00 hours in Regensburg and at 14.00 hours in Munich.

These were official figures and not just private ones. Bonn was notified at 20.35 hours. This fact in itself sheds an interesting light on the "brisk exchange of data" with Bavarian authorities.

It also stands out in that the witness can remember to the minute when the news came through, whereas otherwise, to judge by his replies to constant questioning, he has either forgotten or, to use his favourite turn of phrase, can no longer "coordinate" the course of events (in other words, he can't remember just what happened when).

But in the evening of the last day in April a radiation count of 123 becquerels was received from Bavaria. "This reading," he says, "prompted us to consider whether danger was in the offing."

He had reached the conclusion that people did not need to be stopped from going about their ordinary business. Besides, the next day was May Day and the next meeting of the radiation protection committee was to be held on 2 May.

What would have happened if the readings, regardless of the public holiday, had gone from bad to worse and the government had been obliged to take more drastic action than specifying radiation ceilings for milk and leaf vegetables?

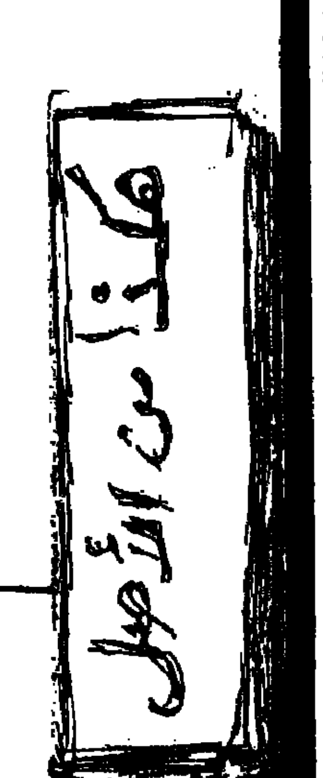
Was there a plan of action? — All concerned are well aware that the witness is under no obligation to answer this question. As a civil servant he needs only to answer such questions as are covered by the permission he has been given to divulge official information.

Before the presiding judge smilingly makes this point clear he gives the witness three or four seconds in which he takes good care to say absolutely nothing.

Understandably, after being sent down from the witness-box the Bonn government official walks down the three flights of stairs from the courtroom saying: "Let's abseil our way out of here!"

Roswin Finkenzeller

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 4 March 1988)



Doctor and drug company at odds over nuclear fallout drug

A Düsseldorf labour court is to rule on 12 April on whether a doctor can refuse, on grounds of conscience, to do further research into a drug for his employer.

The drug in question was designed to delay the fatal effects of overexposure to radiation in a nuclear war. It would enable soldiers to carry on fighting for a few hours longer.

The ruling has been made necessary by the failure of the doctor, Bernd Richter, and his employer until mid-1987, Beecham-Wülfing, a drug company in Neuss, near Düsseldorf, to agree on either further employment or severance terms.

Dr Richter and two other doctors were sacked last year for refusing to do any further research into a drug code-named BRL 43694 that was designed to temporarily delay the consequences of radioactive contamination.

Beecham-Wülfing did not dispute the fact that a drug of this kind was undergoing trials in Neuss. But the management said it was designed first and foremost to eliminate the nausea felt by cancer patients after radiation treatment.

A company assessment of its market prospects stresses, however, that it might well, in respect of Nato armed forces, serve a gigantic market.

Company officials denied having contacted Nato in connection with the drug, but they had to admit that Nato officials had approached Beecham-Wülfing.

A document had even been drafted for these talks that included the following:

"The drug will improve prevention in respect of radiation sickness due either to cancer radiotherapy or as a possible consequence of nuclear war. Its market potential is significant and on the increase."

Bernd Richter felt the possibility of military use for the drug he was in charge of research into justified refusal to do any further work on it.

After several vain attempts to persuade him to change his mind the company served him notice of immediate dismissal (effective within 72 hours rather than at the end of the month or the quarter).

He told the court he could not simply split his conscience down the middle and ignore what he called the dirty side effect of BRL 43694. He is keen to continue in employment with Beecham-Wülfing, but not to work on the controversial drug.

Presiding judge Karl Heinrich W... agreed that in this case, Dr Richter's appeal against dismissal by Beecham-Wülfing, his employer, grounds of

Continued on page 14

HEALTH

Municipal Aids counsellor gives free and anonymous advice

STUTTGARTER NACHRICHTEN

In the 14th century the Black Death killed about 25 million people in Europe — about a third of its population — in a few years.

Aids is today's scourge. But it is slower, taking its toll over years or even decades. People are worried. You can't tell whether you or others are carriers.

Albert Mayer knows how worried people are. A 28-year-old social worker, he is a public health department Aids counsellor in Böblingen, near Stuttgart. He gives advice and anonymous Aids tests. The test is free (the health insurance only pays if you are found to have the symptoms).

Mayer says the government and the media have to be careful to keep the public calm. They have to build up trust by giving accurate information on the disease. It's counter-productive to dramatise or belittle the danger of Aids.

He is also critical of calls to intern the infected. "Talk of internment only scares people from coming forward for tests and advice," he said. Aids is a subject "which the media have to handle with kid gloves. So far the Aids debate has scared people, and fear is a bad counsellor."

The German government gave him a four-year contract within the framework of its Federal anti-Aids programme last October, launched to improve on the service given by general medical practitioners.

He has an unusual office style. He keeps no files. Every month he advises about 100 men and women between 18 and 35 years of age. Half are women. They usually want a child and come to avoid bearing infected children.

The social worker is more in demand than doctors. "Initially the problem is more a psychosocial problem for the infected than a medical one," Mayer said. But he does not want to be controversial. It might scare off people. And it's important for counselling to be continuous.

Mayer advises couples as well as singles. He teaches parents how to educate their children on the disease. He also gets clients who were in Africa and have been scared by reports on the rate of infection there.

A lot of patients usually come from outside to avoid being recognised in their own neighbourhood. Local people usually go to Stuttgart or Tübingen.

The main thing for Mayer is that the people come. Then he can get to work advising how to avoid catching and spreading the disease and on the course of the infection. "I'm more interested in giving advice than in hearing confessions," he said. Mayer prefers small groups to large ones. He receives small groups of parents, clubs, family circles or youth groups. "Nobody asks any questions at large meetings," he said. In small groups "people feel less embarrassed about asking questions."

The questions range from how to give first aid to the dangers of kissing. Mayer gives clear answers about the danger of passing on the disease by all forms of physical contact. He visits the public as well, even in the evenings. An appointment is all that is needed.

He says television has played the greatest role in informing the public. It's now up to the public to put it all into practice.

"People can come to me to talk about how to do this. But in the end it's up to the individual. One person might choose faithfulness and another a condom," he said.

Lotte Schneider

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 18 February 1988)



Böblingen Aids counsellor Albert Mayer
(Photo: Kraufmann & Kraufmann)

Cologne Aids test centre is increasingly popular

The Aids death toll is climbing. Statisticians say it could turn out to be one of the greatest killers in history. Their forecasts have scared governments and ordinary citizens alike.

In Western countries the disease has hit homosexuals and drug users the hardest.

Many people would like to ease their minds and know if they are infected or not. But many are afraid of the repercussions if they lose their anonymity.

The Cologne public health office knows that such fears prevent people from coming for tests. They are not interested in knowing the names of tested people.

The important point is to get people in for tests. Otherwise infected people will pass Aids on unwittingly to others.

Since 1985 about 6,500 people have taken Aids tests anonymously at the Cologne office. It has dealt with as many as 50 a day.

In January 300 were given the Elisa test. So far the office has found 170 people who are HIV-positive with antibodies in their blood.

The office's motto is: "We can beat Aids together." Once in the office you fill in a questionnaire. They get a lot of people from other parts of the country. So the first question is whether you come from Cologne or elsewhere.

Many Bavarians take a test in Cologne because they do not trust Bavaria's right-wing goverment to respect their anonymity.

The Bavarian government is at odds with the Federal government in Bonn on Aids. It has introduced its own stringent regulations.

The questionnaire also asks how promiscuous one has been and whether one is homosexual or bisexual. The office also asks if one has had blood contact with another person through rape or borrowed needles.

Dr Jan Leidel, head of Cologne's health office, says people do not mind filling in the forms. But one counsellor says there are people who insist on their rights.

They strenuously deny belonging to a high-risk group and refuse to fill forms in. The centre prefers to drop the questionnaire in such cases.

The visitor then goes into an adjoining room where a doctor takes a blood sample. The doctor labels it with a number and code-name. The results are ready 12 days later.

The people tested have to sweat in the meantime. Nervousness turns some of them into insomniacs. Fear of Aids turns others into hypochondriacs who take a test at the slightest sniffle.

The number of people checked jumped last year to 4,675 from 884 in 1986. But the number of HIV-positives increased only slightly, from 51 to 61. Dr Leidel attributes the increase in numbers of people taking tests to the public's growing awareness of the problem.

People usually telephone to find out the result. The doctor just has the result under a number and code-name. They are chary of telling the caller he is negative. It has caused too many misunderstandings in the past.

Olaf Mack/dpa

(Nordwest Zeitung, Oldenburg, 26 February 1988)

■ MEDIA

AFN Frankfurt ever popular with Germans

Frankfurter Rundschau

American Forces Network, better known as AFN, the broadcasting station for American servicemen in Europe, has its headquarters in Frankfurt.

Its objectives are to entertain and inform servicemen far from home.

But its influence goes far beyond the American forces. Young people listen to it and dream of New York, and housewives listen to the news, "every hour on the hour," to practice their English for their adult education centre courses.

This summer the station will have been on the air for 45 years, since the end of the war from Frankfurt.

For a long time after the war the station was more popular than domestic German radio. It introduced the post-war generation to jazz and helped rock 'n' roll to conquer the country.

AFN discovered pop stars and starlets and its programme presenters thrilled German listeners in the 1950s, the time when the word "disc jockey" was still a foreign word.

President John F. Kennedy sent his congratulations to the station when it celebrated its 20th anniversary and praised the station for its work, describing it as a means of presenting the American way of life to Germany. It then operated from Höchst Castle.

In fact the station only gives a cursory insight into American life and society. Most of the time German households that are tuned in to it get only music.

The AFN television service can only be seen with an adapter to a standard TV set, so that VHF and medium wave radio programmes attract most attention in this country.

Fifty per cent of listeners' letters come from people in the Federal Republic, mainly record requests.

Station manager Stephen H. Smith regards these fans as "a shadow audience," a public that stands in the shadow of the 160,000 American troops and their families for whom his station caters.

The station is an arm of the US Army and the American Defence Department. Smith said that it was charged with "informing and entertaining. We want to say to our people: Don't stay on base while you are in Germany. Get out and have a look at everything."

On the Monday before Ash Wednesday GIs were asked: "How about some fasching fun? Get yourself a false nose and join in."

Three times a week there is a programme "Experience Germany" giving tips about life in the Federal Republic, such as how to drink apple wine and what to do with the dog when in a German residential area.

The programme also tells its GI listeners that one is not likely to gain friends and influence people by going into the German underground with a ghetto blaster going at full volume. "Things may be different in Manhattan."

Smith drew attention to another important task for AFN. He said: "People should go to the army authorities when they have a problem."

The US Army's advice centres can give people ideas on how to run their homes, what to do when moving house or in need of a loan.

Whether language difficulties are overcome in the daily "German sentence for the day," by giving listeners practice in simple sentences such as "I would like to pay, please," or "Where is the railway station?" — in German — is debatable, but it shows that the will is there.

Werner Lamp is from the Offenbach meteorological office and has amused American, and German listeners for ten years with his weather forecasts spoken in English with a strong Hesse accent.

He is regarded as a character and like other announcers on the station has passed into AFN legend.

During the last war AFN operated from the cellars of the BBC in London, broadcasting prohibited jazz to US servicemen and, perhaps, to German audiences.

In the 1950s teenagers and twens preferred Jack Fiel's "Top of the morning show," or Johnny Vrotso's "There is music in the air" to contemporary German pop songs.

These shows for example gave one fan, Siegfried from Remscheid, enough courage to write: "Can you get me some real jeans?"

While doing his military service in Germany Elvis Presley applied for a much-envied job with AFN, but his senior officers turned his application down. They feared that Höchst Castle would not be able to stand up to the onslaught of his fans.

Hanna Pfeil from Hesse Radio has given a helping hand in joint broadcasts with AFN such as at the 20th AFN anniversary celebrations in 1963 in Frankfurt's Jahrhunderthalle. Caterina Valente, well-known to AFN audiences, sang "Happy birthday" to the station.

Rise to fame

Pop singer Bill Ramsey was an unknown conscript in the US Army when he was introduced into broadcasting as a disc jockey.

At the end of the 1970s Wolfram Jack of neighbouring Hesse Radio won over late-night audiences of young people from AFN.

There are no precise statistics on AFN's "shadow public," but in 1979 there must have been about five million listeners in the Federal Republic.

The VHF programme, designed for listeners over 24, is produced automated. An enormous computer prepares in advance programmes of music, introductory chat and news items, in part picked up from American radio stations and in part prepared by station news staff.

The medium wave programmes on 873 kilohertz are designed for younger listeners. Announcers include Jim McKane, Melody Day and Greg Calhoun, all serving members of the American Armed Forces.

There are eight other AFN stations in the Federal Republic. They produce a mix of regional programmes and the basic AFN programme, similar to the mix put together in Frankfurt.

There are 300 working in the Frankfurt central station, most of them involved in AFN's TV programmes. There are only five directly involved with AFN Frankfurt.

Commander Jeffrey L. Whitted, AFN

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Radio Liberty in Munich puts the emphasis on glasnost

Mention of glasnost causes Cedrik Tate to smile wryly. Catherine the Great of Russia used it in its original meaning of "giving voice," and the term can be found 46 times in Lenin's works.

There is, indeed, nothing new about glasnost. In has no more to do with press freedom as understood in the West as it has to do with freedom itself.

Cedrik Tate is American and runs Radio Liberty from its headquarters in Munich. The radio station's transmissions to the Soviet Union continue to be jammed despite glasnost.

Romania, Hungary and recently Poland tolerate this radio station, which has been working in conjunction with Radio Free Europe since 1976.

For the past 12 months Moscow has discontinued jamming Deutsche Welle and the BBC World Service.

Tate suspects that the equipment, no longer needed to jam these two programmes, is now used to jam Radio Liberty. It is believed that there are 2,000 jamming transmitters operated by about 5,000 technicians.

He said that Mikhail Gorbachov regards the activities of the two Munich stations as predecessors of "psychological warfare." Radio Free Europe came into being under the combative slogan "Crusade for Freedom."

There are around 1,000 journalists and technicians from 40 countries who work for the two radio stations at the Munich headquarters where radio programmes are beamed into the East Bloc.

They no longer feel themselves, and for a long time now they have not felt themselves to be, champions of the Cold War.

All connections with the CIA were broken off in 1971. Since 1976 the radio stations have been set up as public bodies, financially supported by the American Congress.

The weak American dollar is now giving executives in Munich a lot to worry about.

Since its establishment in 1953 Radio Liberty has concentrated on the Soviet Union, transmitting programmes round the clock to the USSR in 12 languages.

Since 1985 two hours of broadcasting daily have been transmitted from Pakistan in Dari, one of the national languages of Afghanistan.

Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe beam about 1,000 hours of broadcasts a week. Programmes are prepared in Washington and New York, where the stations have offices, as well as in the Munich headquarters.

Fifty per cent of the programmes are made up of newscasts and features, the rest of the broadcasting time is used to beam news commentaries, discussions, background information, flashbacks, sports information and religious programmes.

Many of the journalists employed by the station are emigrés from Eastern Europe. Their job is to fill the gaps left by the state-controlled media in the East Bloc, provide information and encourage "constructive dialogue with the peoples of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union."

Information is provided mainly by the major news agencies, but the most important news items source is the Soviet Union itself.

There is a bookshop in Munich that specialises in handling official publications and several of the new, independent "alternative" news-sheets such as "Glasnost."

Radio broadcasts and, since 1984 Moscow television via satellite, have been recorded in Schleissheim and evaluated by experts.

Annually about 2,000 Soviet citizens travelling to the West, are interviewed. The information obtained in these interviews also gives some idea of the numbers of listeners in the Soviet Union.

Despite jamming, Radio Liberty reaches four million listeners daily, 11 million a week and 19 million a month.

It is well known that Russians listen to the Munich programmes at the weekends when they are staying in their dachas outside Moscow and Leningrad. Many programmes are recorded on cassettes to be passed on to friends and colleagues.

Occasionally contributions resurface in the underground *samizdat* Press.

Soviet citizens learned the truth about the nuclear reactor disaster at Chernobyl quicker from Munich than from Moscow.

Radio Liberty did not quote figures on the extent of the catastrophe, but described the disaster technically in detail.

There are signs that listeners are getting to be more critical and more demanding. For this reason it is proposed to extend programmes to include women's and youth affairs and provide programmes in regional languages in the Soviet Union. There *have been no such* broadcasts up until now.

Programmes are beamed from five stations, in Holzkirchen in Upper Bavaria, in Spain and in Portugal. These stations are urgently in need of modernisation if the "electronic curtain" is to be pierced further.

It is planned to establish new transmitters in Israel and the Far East which will improve reception in Central Asia and Siberia.

Karl Stankiewitz

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 15 February 1988)

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science applied. But the court was not prepared, after hearing the two sides, to arrive at an immediate decision on whether they were sufficient to justify the plaintiff's decision not to do any further work on the drug in question.

Judge Wirth sounded a note of doubt telling the plaintiff: "Surely we are all agreed that a nuclear war is most unlikely. Otherwise we could all call it a day."

Dr Richter was not prepared to follow up this line of argument. He sees the development of BRL 43694 and its possible issue to the troops as a psychological preparation for war.

It would give them the illusion that their lives could be saved or medical help could be given when in reality there was nothing that could be done by the medical profession to help them in the event of a nuclear war.

"This is the borderline," he said. "Thus far and no further. If you go any further at this stage you may stand to forfeit personal reputation on being asked, five years later: 'Didn't you work on that particular assignment?'"

Reinhard Voss

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 17 February 1988)

■ MODERN LIVING

Mannheim Ufo buffs keep tabs on flying saucers



Was the Palatinate attacked by flying saucers on 24 January? Are green men from outer space planning an invasion of the unsuspecting countryside?

Speculation has run riot since dozens of eye-witnesses observed a flashing object with four giant floodlights in the sky over Frankental.

The police telephone never stopped ringing the whole night through. Nor did Werner Walter's phone remain silent.

He is 30, sells furniture and lives in Mannheim. His friend Hans Jürgen Köhler, a textiles salesman, is 31. Together they founded the central research centre for extraordinary space phenomena — the German initials are CENAP.

Since 1973 they have been on the tail of UFOs along with a handful of like-minded friends. They have looked into 370 cases and report: "No extra-terrestrial creatures have landed on the earth yet."

When they were young Walter and Köhler were fascinated by spectacular films, photographs and reports about spaceships, mysterious creatures from outer space and science-fiction literature.

They quickly observed that there was a lot of hot air behind all the hair-raising stories. For instance they searched in vain for confirmation of alleged "encounters of a third kind" by UFO experts.

It was not long before they were talking about substitutes for religion, trickery and money-making.

This gave them the idea of setting up CENAP. The two friends now spend every free moment they have in UFO research.

They pester eye-witnesses with a 60-question enquiry sheet, telephone the police, meteorological offices, air-space controllers, observatories and ministries.

Every small newspaper report is followed up for days on end. They have made firm contacts with Federal Republic embassies and consulates all over the world.

Several ambassadors in the Far East have followed up their own researches, prompted by a letter from the two in Mannheim, trying to solve the mystery of inexplicable objects in the heavens.

The CENAP people were surprised at what Walter and Köhler discovered. They went into 370 cases and 99 per cent of them could be explained quite rationally.

The flying saucers were discovered to be either aircraft, airships, weather balloons, stars, meteorites, hub caps or just jokes.

The sighting over Frankental was explained. Some of the eye-witnesses had stared at Venus on the horizon, others let themselves get into a state by confusing the illumination with lights from US bombers stationed at Ramstein.

Public reaction to Werner Walter's revelations has been shatteringly limited. He has written a 350-page manuscript on *Das UFO-Phänomen über Deutschland* but not one of the 100 publishers he has approached is prepared to take up the book.

The rejection slips always say something along the lines: "An interesting story but there is no market for it."

Fifty copies of a CENAP brochure were printed and offered for sale dealing with UFO sightings in the United States, but it has left the expert world cold.

The reaction was that no-one wanted to put an end to flying saucers and for days on end Walter's phone did not stop ringing, and some callers made bomb threats.

But Walter and Köhler are not intimidated and are carrying on with their research to banish the UFO idea to film-makers' dream factories.

Should the impossible happen and an extra-terrestrial creature be sighted between Mannheim and Ludwigshafen Walter and Köhler are prepared.

If sceptics could have a spin in a spaceship, have a drink of beer brewed in outer space or confirm that there were such things as extra-terrestrial can-openers, they would become ardent devotees of the UFO cult.

Dieter Oberhollenzer

(Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz, 23 February 1988)



These Ufos, sighted in Brazil, turned out to be cloud formations (Photo: dpa)

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press officer, said: "I don't believe there is any control or censorship over the news," for naturally it is supposed that critical reporting is not permissible.

As evidence that there is a "free flow of information and news" Whitted pointed out that AFN picked up unaltered reports from the major American news agencies.

There was, for instance, detailed reporting over the Iran-Contra affair.

People in Frankfurt come up against AFN all the time, not always willingly. Housewives in the north-west of the city suddenly find their saucepan lids jumping up and down in time to music interruptions from AFN.

The American radio station often breaks into underground loudspeaker announcements at Weisskirchen in Oberursel.

In 1976, depending on the weather, the sermon by the lady pastor at the Durant Church in the Sossenheim district, relayed by loudspeaker, was frequently interrupted by rock music coming from the AFN station.

Radio technicians tried to put this right. It was caused by the strong transmissions from AFN that were deflected back.

Whitted says that there are more record archives in Frankfurt at AFN than in any other records archives — with the exception of the Library of Congress in Washington.

Some of the rare records that AFN have include the last pressing made by Glenn Miller and his orchestra in 1944 and the original report by Herb Morrison of the 1937 Zeppelin disaster in Lakehurst.

The archives include 230 versions of the evergreen "I'm dreaming of a white Christmas."

AFN advertises itself as "The easy alternative." It is an easily digestible radio diet and provides citizens in Frankfurt not only with memories of the good old days of radio, but also a foretaste of the future of commercial radio stations.

Daniel Riegger

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 2 March 1988)

Droit de seigneur was a fiction, German historian says

European literature is peppered with the idea known as *jus cunnagii, droit du seigneur* or *derecho de pernada*.

These expressions mean that when a bondman's daughter weds, the lord of the manor has the right to spend the first night with her.

This right is established somewhere between lawyers' humour and ancient documents, now covered with mould,



the right of the lord to deflower his bondsman's daughter on her nuptial night.

Since the early Middle Ages there have been serious statements, speculation and legal jokes about this right.

Whether it was the brutal manners of our forefathers or the shallow sarcasm of our chroniclers, more often than not the "right" emerges as *droit de cuissage*, implying that the lord of the manor may put a naked leg into the newly-weds' bed.

A certain Labessade said in 1878 that it was puzzling how the lords of the Auvergne were able to sleep with one leg naked and the other booted.

Oddly enough many men of the cloth emerge as having made use of *jus primae noctis*. Male fantasy has been able to extend thus far in the matter.

The idea of *jus primae noctis* no longer appears in dictionaries today, but Wilhelm Schmidt-Bleibtreu, a historian and headmaster, has now made an extensive investigation of this right.

He has written a book entitled *Jus Primae Noctis, Herrenrecht der ersten Nacht*, published by Ludwig Röhrscheid Verlag, Bonn.

In this book he reveals that the "right" was in fact a phantom, a great nothing, a fantastic figment of the imagination.

But the author had a difficult time nailing his subject. He scoured literature to find references to *jus primae noctis*. There are quite a lot.

The bibliography of his book extends over 28 pages and there are some famous names among the hundreds of authors listed but, as was to be expected, not a single woman.

Schmidt-Bleibtreu has subjected centuries of literature from all over the world to his sceptical scrutiny. There are several other historians in the Federal Republic who have been equally doubtful about this "right."

These include the legal historian Karl Schmidt, who denied the "right" at the end of the 19th century.

Schmidt-Bleibtreu burrowed through documents, reports and myths. The main proof was a judgment of the Grand Seneschal of Guyenne dating from 1302, written in Aquitaine and published in 1812 by a M. de Saint-Amans.

He made his discovery by accident. The judgment comes out in favour of a lord who claimed the right "de premici et de defloremeent." The bride with her groom defended herself against "defloration."

The plaintiff lord locked the two up and then went to court. The court ruled in his favour. It went further. It ruled that the bridegroom should have given a helping hand.

Schmidt-Bleibtreu believes this document to be a forgery. Its dating does not agree with the day of the week, the lord's name was wrong and government documents of the period make no mention of the case, certainly a decision of importance.

In his book he demolishes the whole fantasy of the idea. The British historian Howarth cites the last sentence in the book: "We can be tolerably sure that the droit du seigneur never did exist."

Hanno Kühnert

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